

## French Leaders From '94 Defend Rwanda Policy

Charges of Complicity in Killings Are 'Revolting,' Balladur Asserts

By Charles Trueheart  
Washington Post Service

PARIS — Bristling with indignation four years after the fact, the men who led the French government during the 1994 massacres of hundreds of thousands of people in Rwanda defended themselves and France on Tuesday against charges of indirect complicity in the genocide.

The generally bad reviews of France's military role in Rwanda, said a former prime minister, Edouard Balladur, were part of a "revolting" campaign to discredit "the only country in the international community that tried to act."

Mr. Balladur spoke alongside Alain Juppe, his foreign minister in 1994 and later prime minister, and Francois Leotard, his defense minister, in testimony before an unprecedented commission of the national legislature that is looking into France's role in the Rwanda conflict.

Both Mr. Balladur and Mr. Juppe defended France's initiative — and condemned the admitted inertia of the United States and others — in leading Operation Turquoise, the humanitarian force mandated by the United Nations that sought to ease a state of civil war in Rwanda in midsummer 1994, three months after the massacres of Tutsi and moderate Hutu began.

The former officials echoed earlier National As-



Mr. Balladur, flanked by Mr. Leotard, left, and Mr. Juppe awaiting the start of the French inquiry.

sembly testimony from experts that Operation Turquoise may have saved as many as 20,000 lives. But the operation has also been accused of failing to prevent much greater slaughter while rescuing French nationals and protecting extremist Hutu, friendly to France, who were carrying out the massacres.

France had for years closely supported and armed the Hutu-dominated regime of President Juvenal

Habyarimana, who was killed when a missile downed his plane on April 6, 1994, as it approached the airport in the Rwandan capital, Kigali.

Although the source of the missile was never established, Mr. Habyarimana's death triggered the apparently well-planned retributive massacres of

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## Human Rights Body Snubs U.S. on Cuba

Anti-Castro Resolution Voted Down

By Brian Knowlton  
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — In a dramatic sign of waning support for U.S. efforts to isolate Cuba, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, meeting in Geneva, on Tuesday voted down a U.S.-backed resolution critical of Cuban human-rights policies.

The vote — the first time in seven years such a resolution had been defeated by the commission — was labeled a "direct slap in the face to President Clinton" by a spokesman for Senator Jesse Helms, the conservative chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

It appeared to be a clear indication that efforts by President Fidel Castro to place a kinder face on his Communist government, highlighted by Pope John Paul II's recent visit to the island, were beginning to pay off.

"This is the victory of reason," the Cuban delegate to the commission, Alfonso Martinez, said after the vote, which carried by 19 to 16, with 18 abstentions. Mr. Martinez praised the vote as a "victory over inflexibility and lack of tolerance."

The U.S. State Department expressed its keen disappointment with the vote. "We do believe that the commission's failure to adopt this resolution will unfortunately be interpreted as a sign of support for the repressive policies of the Cuban government," said a spokesman, who spoke on the basis of anonymity.

The spokesman said the administration found it "disturbing" that some countries which had previously supported the U.S. resolution had changed their positions this year. Despite the releases of some Cuban political prisoners, he added, "the basic situation remains unchanged."

The United States has appeared increasingly isolated in its Cuba policy. It has been harshly criticized by Europeans and others for the Helms-Burton law aimed at restricting foreign invest-

ment in Cuba, though the European Union has now dropped a legal challenge to the act. (Page 13)

The vote Tuesday brought dismay from conservatives, some Cuban-American exile groups and human-rights organizations.

"It's a stunning defeat for the Clinton administration, coming just days after the president met with many of the Latin American leaders in Santiago," said Marc Thiessen, spokesman for Senator Helms. The leaders with whom President Bill Clinton met included some whose representatives voted against the U.S. resolution, Mr. Thiessen said.

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## Midwest Finds the World at Its Door

By Helen Dewar  
Washington Post Service

HASTINGS, Nebraska — When Senator Chuck Hagel, Republican of Nebraska, visited the T-L Irrigation Co. here last Tuesday, the big topic was an impending shopping trip by a delegation from China. A reporter from a local television station wanted to know about Asia's financial turmoil. What about funding for the International Monetary Fund, a manufacturer of cattle watering troughs asked Mr. Hagel over sandwiches at the OK Cafe.

By the end of the day, Mr. Hagel had touched down verbally almost everywhere from Bosnia to Turkmenistan to the Philippines. "We are living in a global village, undegraded by a global economy," he told students at the University of Nebraska, using words not normally associated with a Midwestern Republican conservative.

So much for the midcentury image of the largely Republican Midwestern Farm Belt as the wellspring of American isolationism, a stereotype that lingered long after the reality began to fade.

Now it is a hotbed of trade-based internationalism, and Mr. Hagel, for one, is ready to help lead a fight to ensure that the Republican Party's presidential nominee in 2000 shares that thinking. As farm exports grew after World War II, the Midwest became more like the rest of the country, producing its share of foreign-policy leaders, recently including such Republicans as Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana and the former Senate majority leader, Bob Dole of Kansas, as well as those who thundered against foreign aid.

By the end of the Cold War, the country often seemed to be pulling back from the world, unleashing nationalist and protectionist forces that thrived in a climate of disengagement. At the same time, Midwestern exports were growing at a fast clip. Now, after several decades of mounting dependence on foreign markets to absorb its agricultural abundance and a recently passed "Freedom to Farm" bill encouraging even more production, America's breadbasket is wedded to the world.

As a result, politicians are in the forefront of many internationalist initiatives, although this clearly has its limits when Midwestern eco-

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## Paris-Bonn Fight: It's About More Than Banker's Name

By John Vinocur  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — No one strains credulity in saying that the most important man in Europe could be the president of the future European central bank and that the bank itself might soon become the institution most affecting Europeans' everyday lives.

Considering the size of the stakes, it cannot be much of a surprise that the selection of the person who will oversee Europe's marriage to a single currency has turned into a battle diminishing Europeans' expectations of a bank independent from politics and competing nationalisms.

But the bank's uncomfortable and vaguely defined

relationship with political power now goes further than a problem that can be resolved simply by choosing Wim Duisenberg, the Dutch president of the European Monetary Institute, or Jean-Claude Trichet, governor of the Bank of France, or a compromise candidate.

The fact is, the European central bank is coming to life amid distrust and a real measure of recrimination. This is because the struggle for the bank is largely a hidden confrontation between Germany and France about issues at the heart of the new Europe: who gives up how much sovereignty with the coming of the euro, and who

holds control over European monetary policy.

For the Germans, selecting Mr. Duisenberg, with his hard-money credentials and years as a trusted banker in a country linked to the Deutsche mark zone, means nothing less than retaining the de facto authority that they have exercised over the European monetary system for decades. It is an uncomfortable, taboo-laden issue but one so basic to the German national interest and voters' instincts that Gerhard Schroeder, the Social Democrat heavily favored to become chancellor in September, said last week that Mr. Duisenberg's nomination would be a positive signal to everyone.

For the French, leaving the bank to Mr. Duisenberg

See BANK, Page 7

## Election and Party Clout Keep Hashimoto Afloat

Japan Sticks With Status Quo for Lack of Choice

By Kevin Sullivan  
Washington Post Service

KITAKYUSHU, Japan — Business at Yukio Nagaiishi's little machine-parts factory is so bad that you almost believe him when he pulls hard on his cigarette and jokes that, "I may have to hang myself."

Mr. Nagaiishi knows exactly who he blames for his pain: Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and the governing Liberal Democratic Party. Mr. Nagaiishi says the leader has bungled the economy and should resign immediately. He says the party is like a heavy weight dragging Japan to the bottom of the ocean.

But when national elections for Parliament roll around in July, you can bet that if Mr. Nagaiishi is still in business he will plaster his walls with Liberal Democratic campaign posters.

The big companies that buy Mr. Nagaiishi's machine parts back the party, which has always been married to big business. Mr. Nagaiishi says they lean on him with a simple message: Support the Liberal Democrats, or we'll find another supplier.

"I'm not in the position to say no, so I'll have to put up the posters," Mr. Nagaiishi said.

The Liberal Democrats have governed Japan for most of the last half of this century, and the party's enduring presence is all the more remarkable for the enormous unpopularity of its leader and the worst economic crisis since World War II.

The heat is getting hotter for Mr. Hashimoto.

On Tuesday, the influential Yomiuri Shimbun, the world's largest daily newspaper, with a circulation of more than 14 million, accused Mr. Hashimoto of "virtually disappearing in times of crisis." Comparing the current economic turmoil to the doomed voyage of the Titanic, the newspaper said in an unusual front-page article, "The country does not need a wishy-washy prime minister."

Tokyo was abuzz as politicians and

analysts speculated that the newspaper criticism was influenced by former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, who leads a conservative faction of the Liberal Democrats.

Mr. Nakasone is believed to want to push out Mr. Hashimoto in favor of Seiroku Kajiyama, 72, the former chief spokesman of the Hashimoto cabinet. Mr. Kajiyama is frequently mentioned as a possible successor, but many here see him as an old-guard conservative

See JAPAN, Page 6



Ryutaro Hashimoto on Tuesday.

## Air France Crash Spurs New Calls on Standards

By Tom Buerkle  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — American and European aviation regulators renewed calls Tuesday for tighter safety standards in developing countries after the crash in Colombia of an Air France flight that was using a jetliner leased from an Ecuadorian military transport company and operated by it.

The Boeing 727 aircraft made a wrong turn after taking off from Bogota's airport late Monday and crashed just below the peak of the 3,444-meter-high El Cable mountain,

killing all 43 passengers and 10 crew members, Colombian authorities said.

Air traffic controllers warned the plane that it was off course moments before it crashed, a Colombian aviation official said Tuesday. The pilot acknowledged the warning, but did not report any emergency before the plane went down.

The Air France flight originated in Paris and used an Air France plane and crew on the leg to Bogota, but under a long-term leasing arrangement, passengers continuing to Quito switched to the Boeing 727 operated by Transportes Aereos Militares de Ecuador, a transport airline run by the Ecuadorian military.

The accident underscored a feature of the booming worldwide travel industry that increasingly worries regulators and consumer organizations: Airline deregulation has brought thousands of once-exotic destinations within reach of millions of ordinary travelers, but passengers often have little assurance or knowledge that the carrier who sold their ticket will actually provide the aircraft and crew to take them there or that air-safety standards will be properly enforced by regulators in the country of destination.

"This is a very big issue," said Katherine Crudy, a spokeswoman for the Federal Aviation Administration in Washington. "The entire world is taking a much more global outlook to aviation safety."

Since 1992, the agency has assessed aviation authorities in 87 countries or regional blocs and found that two-thirds did not fully comply with the global safety standards set by the International

See AIRLINES, Page 7



A grandmother of Angelina's wiping tears at the funeral Tuesday with the slain girl's mother, Violet Dlamini.

## Infant's Murder Shakes South Africans

By Lynne Duke  
Washington Post Service

ZESFONTEIN, South Africa — Nicholas Steyn was drunk that day, for that is how he usually was, his black workers said — a drunk and angry white man, although no one could say quite why. But it was best to give him a wide berth, they said, for he also flaunted guns. He would shoot into the air in bursts of belligerence. People had been afraid of him for a long time.

So when Mr. Steyn shouted angrily at

11-year-old Francina Dlamini from the gate of his rural homestead one day, she did not stop. Toting her 6-month-old cousin Angelina in a traditional blanket pouch on her back, Francina was near the three-room hut where she lived with 10 relatives, who represented two generations of rural workers for the Steyn family. She was almost home.

But Mr. Steyn fired a handgun. A bullet grazed along the tops of the tall dry grass, straight at Angelina's head. It smashed through the infant's skull and came to a stop in Francina's back.

Screams immediately arose from this obscure locale about 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of Johannesburg, and they have been joined, in the ensuing days, by the collective expressions of angst from a nation struck by the symbolism of the April 11 killing: that the ugly past of apartheid remains palpable for those who live at society's margins, subject to the whims of their rural employers.

Baby Angelina was buried Tuesday. Her tombstone read simply that

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## AGENDA

### Catholic Man Shot To Death in Ulster

PORTADOWN, Northern Ireland (AFP) — A man was shot and killed Tuesday in Portadown, Northern Ireland, hospital sources said.

The victim, a Catholic in his 30s, was approached by a man on a bicycle in a Protestant area of the town who shot him several times in the head, police sources said. The man was taken to a hospital where he died later.

No one has claimed responsibility for the shooting, and police would not say whether the incident was linked to the province's sectarian conflict.

Speaking before the man died, the British Northern Ireland secretary, Mo Mowlam, condemned the shooting as "a cowardly act which will be utterly repugnant to everyone."

The Dollar			
New York	Tuesday @ 4 P.M.	previous close	
DM	1.7882	1.8013	
Pound	1.6747	1.6756	
Yen	131.25	132.125	
FF	5.986	6.037	

The Dow			
	Tuesday close	previous close	
	9184.94	9141.84	
S&P 500			
	Tuesday @ 4 P.M.	previous close	
change	1126.46	1123.57	

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Egypt	10.00 FF	Réunion	12.50 FF
France	10.00 FF	Saudi Arabia	10 SR
Gabon	1.100 CFA	Senegal	1.100 CFA
Italy	2.800 Lire	Spain	225 Ptas
Ivory Coast	1.250 CFA	Tunisia	1.250 Dn
Jordan	1.250 JD	U.A.E.	10.00 Dh
Kuwait	700 Fils	U.S. Mil. (Eur.)	\$1.20









THE AMERICAS

# A Diverse Coalition Takes Shape to Fight Against NATO Enlargement

By Eric Schmitt  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Ben & Jerry's, the ice-cream company, is against expanding NATO. So are the conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly and Sam Nunn, the retired Georgia Democrat who was the Senate's most authoritative voice on national security matters.

From left, right and center — and all points in between on the political compass — an unlikely coalition of arms-control advocates, business leaders, United Nations-bashers and foreign-policy specialists has launched a grassroots campaign to derail the addition of

Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic to the military alliance.

A business group headed by Ben Cohen, chairman of Ben & Jerry's, aired a 30-second commercial on several network talk shows Sunday warning that expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would alienate Russia and rekindle Cold War tensions. The same group took out a full-page ad in The New York Times on Monday with the headline, "Hey, Let's Scare the Russians!"

The right-to-left coalition has set up "electronic town meetings" on talk-radio shows in more than 20 cities.

Opponents of NATO expansion know they face an uphill struggle in

trying to reverse the tide of support for NATO expansion in the Senate, which is expected to resume debate on the issue this week. Two-thirds of the Senate — 67 of 100 senators — must approve the expansion.

"We need 34 coverts, and that's a long way to go," said Senator Robert Smith, a New Hampshire Republican who has championed the fight against NATO expansion.

Officials of President Bill Clinton's administration say they are confident they have the votes to win approval of the expansion, but they acknowledge there is always some tightening up as a final vote approaches.

"There's been no softening — in fact, we've been strengthening the vote," said one senior government official, who added that administration aides had "worked hard" over the recent two-week congressional recess to coax and cajole fence-sitters.

But the loose coalition seems to have picked up steam after the NATO debate, and a final vote was postponed until after the recess by Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, the majority leader, who supports enlarging the alliance.

A variety of groups had been waging individual campaigns against NATO expansion for nearly a year and recently sought strength in numbers with a co-

ordinated effort. "There was a convergence of concern," said Mark Sommer, director of the Mainstream Media Project, an educational organization in California that helped produce the hour-long radio call-in programs.

Liberals and many business leaders, including Mr. Cohen, voice concern about the costs of NATO expansion — estimated at as much as \$125 billion over 10 years, depending on various assumptions — and about antagonizing Russia.

"Ben's belief is that NATO's expansion will soak up billions of taxpayers' dollars that could be better spent on our domestic agenda, such as edu-

cation," said Gary Ferdman, executive director of Business Leaders for Sensible Priorities, an educational and lobbying organization that raised \$150,000 for the television and newspaper ads. Mr. Cohen is president of the organization.

The newspaper ad warns: "Let's take NATO and expand it toward Russia's very borders. We'll assure the Russians we come in peace."

The ad continues: "It's the same feeling of peace and security Americans would have if Russia were in a military alliance with Canada and Mexico, armed to the teeth and excluding the United States. We'd all sleep better, right?"

## Supreme Court Rejects Appeal By Publisher of 'Hit Man' Book

By Joan Biskupic  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court has allowed the publisher of a "murder manual" that was used to help carry out a grisly triple homicide to be sued for civil damages.

The case was brought by relatives of the victims — a Silver Spring, Maryland, woman, her quadriplegic son and his nurse — who were murdered five years ago by a contract killer who meticulously followed the manual's instructions.

In their ruling Monday, the justices refused to interfere with an unprecedented ruling last year by an appeals court that said Paladin Enterprises could be held financially responsible for "aiding and abetting" the killer in carrying out the murders with the help of a manual called "Hit Man" that he had purchased from a mail-order catalogue.

The 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals had said that because the book specifically encouraged murder and went beyond "abstract advocacy," it was not covered by the First Amendment.

The case has been closely watched by free-speech lawyers who feared that, if the dispute were allowed to go forward, newspapers, book publishers, movie producers and others could be held responsible for crimes said to have been inspired by their works.

## Partisan Face-Off on Education

WASHINGTON — With a pep rally, oaths conferences and hours of well-rehearsed oratory, Senate Republicans and Democrats have squared off for a confrontation over education policy that appears headed for the campaign trail rather than the statute books.

"This is probably as defining an issue for us and for the Republicans as you're going to see for the rest of the year," the minority leader, Thomas Daschle of South Dakota, said in virtually the only point of agreement between the two parties as they vie for advantage on an issue that millions of Americans regard as their top priority.

The debate may be time-consuming and "messy," said the majority leader, Trent Lott of Mississippi, but "this is time we should take to discuss and debate how we can contribute to improvements in elementary and secondary education."

With votes expected late this week, Republicans are championing legislation, already passed by the House, to provide tax breaks for education-related expenses of children in private as well as public schools. Other proposals include one to convert most education aid programs into block grants to states. Lacking the votes to sustain a filibuster because of defections from their ranks, Democrats are pushing a dozen separate initiatives, including proposals to hire more teachers and repair old schools by subsidizing interest payments on school bonds.

Each party accuses the other of either nibbling at the edge of the nation's educational problems — from low test scores to overcrowded classrooms and danger-filled schoolyards — or pursuing ideological approaches that would exacerbate these problems. Behind the specifics is a more fundamental philosophical divide, with Republicans pushing to reduce the federal role in education and promote "choice" in schooling and Democrats seeking to preserve federal participation and focus it on popular causes.

Most if not all of the major Democratic proposals are likely to fail. While the Republican bill is certain to pass,

Democrats say they have the votes to sustain President Bill Clinton's veto — virtually eliminating any chance of a major education bill being enacted this year. (WP)

## Medicare Panel Gets a Warning

WASHINGTON — A new Medicare commission will have to decide what health coverage the nation can afford — and what it can't — for Baby Boomers in retirement, says Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

"Reality is invariably going to create a situation in which, granted the type of system we have, the demand for medical services is almost surely going to exceed the basic available supply," Mr. Greenspan told lawmakers and private-sector experts gathered for the second meeting of the National Bipartisan Commission on the Future of Medicare.

"Political compromises are going to have to be made," he said, quipping at the end of his testimony, "I much prefer to be a witness than a member of the commission."

By March, the 17-member panel must recommend to Congress and the president some way to keep Medicare from collapsing. Taking into account the aging of the population alone, health care spending in the United States is expected to increase 20 percent over the next three decades. (AP)

## Quote/Unquote

Geraldine Ferraro, asked why she was making a second attempt to win the Democratic nomination to run against Senator Alfonse D'Amato of New York: "Because I really want to have an impact on what's going on in our country in the next century. I really do. I have pictures of my grandchildren here, which I'd be happy to show you. I look at what's happening to them, I look at what's happening in our society, with the enormous difference between haves and have-nots. If we do not start investing now, by the time the have-nots are adults, it's going to be too late." (NYT)



Senator Phil Gramm, Republican of Texas, enumerating his points to Alan Greenspan at the bipartisan Medicare commission's hearing.

# Ex-Secret Service Agent Tells of Long Clinton-Lewinsky Meeting

By George Lardner Jr.  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A retired Secret Service officer, Lewis Fox, says that President Bill Clinton told him and a plainclothes agent on duty outside the Oval Office in the fall of 1995 to "close the door" after Monica Lewinsky walked in because "she'll be in here for a while."

In his fullest public account of what he saw that weekend day, Mr. Fox said that he had been expecting Ms. Lewinsky to show up because Mr. Clinton had told him about 10 minutes earlier that he was expecting a young aide from the White

House legislative affairs office. Mr. Fox said he assumed it would be Ms. Lewinsky and described her to the other agent.

"I said she's got dark black hair and I made hand signals indicating a curvaceous figure," Mr. Fox said. "It was known she'd been around the Oval Office a lot."

Ms. Lewinsky had not emerged when Mr. Fox's shift ended about 40 minutes later. He said Monday that he was sure no one else entered the president's office during that period because all the doors were locked and their alarm set.

A veteran of the Secret Service's uniformed branch, Mr. Fox said he gave these details and

more in testimony Feb. 17 before the grand jury investigating the Lewinsky matter. The retired officer's account was first published in this week's editions of U.S. News & World Report.

Mr. Fox said he decided to speak out again now because "I'm trying to get all this washed away." He said his credibility had been questioned by White House "spin doctors" and he wanted to reaffirm his account.

Mr. Fox's account could strengthen the hand of the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, in seeking Secret Service testimony from other officers and agents. After weeks of inconclusive talks, Mr. Starr recently filed a sealed motion to compel their

testimony despite the Justice Department's assertion of a new and untested privilege to shield Secret Service members from disclosing certain matters important to the protection of the president.

Mr. Starr has been trying to find out what Secret Service officers and agents might have seen or heard as part of his investigation of whether Mr. Clinton had a sexual relationship with Ms. Lewinsky and tried to cover it up.

Mr. Fox said he was on weekend duty, filling in for Gary Byrne, the regular Secret Service officer at the post, when Ms. Lewinsky showed up.

Mr. Byrne also has reportedly been subpoenaed by Mr. Starr to testify.

## White House Won't Lift Ban On Needle-Exchange Funds

By Sheryl Gay Stolberg  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — After a bitter internal debate, the Clinton administration has declined to lift a ban imposed nine years ago on federal funding for programs to distribute clean needles to drug addicts, even as the government's top scientists certified that such programs do not encourage drug abuse and can save lives by reducing the spread of AIDS.

The decision, announced by Donna Shalala, the secretary of health and human services, was denounced by public health experts and advocates for people with AIDS, who had been told in recent days that the ban was about to be lifted.

"At best this is hypocrisy," said Dr. Scott Hitt, chairman of the President's Advisory Council on HIV and AIDS. "At worst, it's a lie. And no matter what, it's immoral."

The decision came after a week of negotiations between Ms. Shalala's staff and the White House, according to two administration officials familiar with the talks. Ms. Shalala had been pressing to rescind the ban, with some restrictions, and was prepared to defend that decision on Capitol Hill, knowing it was bound to be controversial.

But the president's policy advisers feared that Republicans might push through legislation that would strip federal money from organizations that provide free needles, even though the money was used for other purposes.

## Abortion Foes Convicted of Extortion

By Jon Jeter  
Washington Post Service

CHICAGO — A jury has found that leading anti-abortion groups violated federal racketeering laws initially designed to prosecute mobsters by directing protesters to use violence in attempts to shut down two abortion clinics.

The verdict followed seven weeks of testimony in a class-action lawsuit filed on behalf of two women's health clinics in Milwaukee and Wilmington, Delaware.

The jury's decision, announced Monday, opens the door for similar claims by the nearly 1,000 facilities that provide abortion services nationwide.

Calling the decision "a major victory for women's rights," the National Organization for Women, which initiated the lawsuit 12 years ago, said it would "win a permanent injunction against the defendants' blockades, extortion and other use of force or violence at clinics."

Judge David Coar of U.S. District Court scheduled a hearing for Wednesday to discuss the order.

Jurors ordered the defendants to pay nearly \$86,000 to the two clinics to cover expenses they incurred in providing additional security precautions. A federal judge can order that award tripled under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act.

The case marked the first

time that the civil provisions of the anti-racketeering statute, devised in 1970 as a weapon against organized crime, had been used in a class-action lawsuit against the anti-abortion movement.

Plaintiffs in the suit alleged that three prominent organizers in the anti-abortion movement — Joseph Scheidler, Andrew Scholberg and Timothy Murphy of the Chicago-based Pro-Life Action League — had directed activists involved in that

group and in another anti-abortion organization, Operation Rescue, to use threats and acts of intimidation and extortion in their efforts to shut down clinics providing abortion services.

Jurors found that the defendants had engineered a nationwide conspiracy that involved 21 acts of extortion, mostly the formation of barricades that prevented the use of medical clinics.

Lawyers for the defendants said they would appeal.

## Away From Politics

- Terry Nichols has rejected an offer of leniency in exchange for information about the Oklahoma City bombing, saying it would put him in legal jeopardy if he is tried in Oklahoma. He was convicted in Denver of conspiracy in the attack. (AP)
- A 13-year-old boy who bragged to the police that his nickname was "Mr. Pimp" was sentenced to two months in juvenile detention and ordered to seek counseling for trying to arrange sex for hire among his classmates in Reston, Virginia. (AP)
- A privately run juvenile prison lost its license because of violations that included physical abuse of inmates and female staffers having sex with boys, Colorado state officials said. (AP)
- A 79-year-old resident of a home for the mentally disabled in Gainesville, Florida, died from burns he suffered when he was lowered into a whirlpool of 130-degree water during his regular bath. (AP)

## KAZAKHSTAN INVESTMENT SUMMIT

Almaty, June 4-5, 1998

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**By Michael R. Gordon**  
*New York Times Service*

See it here on Thursday.



## *All Quiet in Financially Ailing Japan, but Some Expect a Reckoning\**

the stronger ones to surge ahead.

Foreign and Japanese economists contend that change is inevitable. They say the authorities have lost the use of two important tools to prop up corporate Japan.

One was cheaper money. In the past, the Bank of Japan provided a boost to companies by lowering interest rates. That cut their costs of borrowing and helped them squeeze out a profit. But interest rates are already at rock bottom.

The other tool was exports. Japan Inc. could always depend on exports for growth. But with demand collapsing in Asia, which accounts for 40 percent of Japan's export market, there is little chance Japan will be able to turn on the spigot of export growth.

More troubling to economists is that Japan's third major tool—government spending—may have been restricted in the future. "The problem is, the Japanese government has spent hundreds of billions of dollars over the last few years attempting to kick-start the economy," Mr. Shipley said. "And they haven't been successful."

More than 110 Tamil rebels and army troops were killed in fierce battles in Sri Lanka as the Commonwealth pursued an attempt to restore peace, officials said. (AFP)

Mr. Kim said. "The government will not interfere with continued demands by the former comfort women and nongovernmental organizations for compensation from the Japanese government."

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Seoul demanded that Japan apologize for its wartime atrocities.

"We reiterated that a true future-oriented and mutually beneficial relationship between Korea and Japan can be achieved only if Japan recognizes past history and remorselessly reflects on its deeds," it said in a statement.

South Korea had been expected to approve the compensation plan last week, but Mr. Kim postponed the decision in order to seek the approval of groups representing the women.

Yang Mi Kang, a spokeswoman for the Korea Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery in Japan, said Tuesday the group was pleased that the government would give the women, many of whom are in their 70s and 80s, a means of support, but added that the group would not give up its demands for compensation from Tokyo.

who would bring little vigor or imagination to the office.

Seiji Tsutsumi, owner of the Seibu Department stores and one of Japan's most powerful businessmen, called Monday for Mr. Hashimoto to resign for economic mismanagement.

Mr. Hashimoto and the Liberal Democrats continue to move slowly and deliberately. The prime minister and party chiefs are spending much of this week locked in backroom bargaining sessions thrashing out details of a \$7-billion public spending spree aimed at making just about every sector of society a bit less gloomy.

According to party officials and Japanese media reports, Mr. Hashimoto is likely to include a \$13 billion proposal to build a national fiber-optic "information superhighway" that will connect 40,000 schools to the Internet and provide a personal computer for every primary-school pupil in Japan.

Mr. Hashimoto also plans to spend billions more on research-and-development facilities at Japanese universities and companies—including money for studies about the falling sperm count of Japanese men. With 11 percent of the national work force employed in the powerful construction industry, the

"He was tired, and I think that probably had to do with the trip," Dr. Royer said.

هذا من الامور



## INTERNATIONAL

## In Niger, a Thirst for Water - Not for Democracy

By Joseph R. Gregory  
New York Times Service

ZINDER, Niger — When the troops garrisoned here mutinied recently, the sultan of Zinder advised his people to stay home and to avoid the soldiers roaming the streets and firing in the air.

It was, after all, a quarrel between the troops and politicians in the capital, Niamey, 720 kilometers (450 miles) away. "Since it did not concern our people, it did not concern us," said the sultan, Elhadj Aboubacar Sanda Amadou, the 22d of his line, which has ruled Zinder since 1736 and remains a local authority in a region whose 800,000 people scratch out a living in the shrinking savannah that separates the greener lands of southern Africa from the Sahara.

Besides, life in this drought-prone nation of 10 million people has become increasingly difficult because of a larger, more distant quarrel, this one between Niamey and Washington. Relations have deteriorated badly since January 1996, when Niger's first elected president was ousted in a coup that ended a brief experiment with democracy. Because of the coup, the United States and other donor nations have ended or drastically reduced aid to Niger, whose government budget depends heavily upon foreign aid.

"Some of my people have to walk 5 to 10 miles to get water," the sultan said. "To somebody with such a problem, democracy will not mean anything."

Indeed, democracy seems light years away from Zinder, a sprawling city of mud buildings whose low skyline fades into an overcast of dust hovering in the Sahara's persistent wind.

In this seventh year of near drought, the streets are filled with beggars from parched villages, many of them malnourished children.

Suppliants of many kinds waited outside the sultan's palace, built in 1850 and shielded from the dusty streets by high mud walls. Passing through the gates, a visitor was greeted by a dozen courtiers and an escort of the sultan's bodyguard.

They led the way through a maze of hallways and courtyards to a rectangular conference room furnished with 46 stuffed armchairs. A television set in the corner was broadcasting French cartoons when the sultan entered, resplendent in cape and turban and carrying the silver staff that is his badge of office.

A tall, open-faced man of 47 who was chosen 20 years ago to succeed his father from a pool of more than 30 brothers and cousins, the sultan describes himself as an intermediary with the central government. He intercedes when his people have problems with soldiers, mediates when they quarrel over water rights, tries to resolve marriage difficulties and sometimes determines which peasant gets a cow.

He is also the region's main tax collector, a difficult task because few people have money in a country where annual per capita income is about \$250, and because, he said, the politicians do not honor their responsibilities.

"The government is supposed to pay for the palace electricity and telephone and water, but they don't pay," he said, speaking in a mixture of French and local languages. "We have to take it out of our pocket. If we didn't, we would be in darkness." There are 332 people in his household, he said, including his 4 wives and 21 children.



The sultan of Zinder and his bodyguards preparing to meet a Tuareg delegation in the palace courtyard.

Perhaps that is why he felt a certain sympathy for the mutineers, although he deplored their methods. The soldiers in Zinder and other cities had not been paid for four months, and for 10 days they refused to obey orders. Then, when promised two months' back pay, they returned to duty.

Members of the opposition Front for the Restoration and Defense of Democracy set fire to a police station and the regional party headquarters of the ruling Council of National Salvation in Zinder on Sunday, Reuters reported Monday. The news agency said that the government of President Ibrahim Bare Mainassara arrested three regional opposition leaders. It said the Niger Association for the Defense of Human Rights denounced the violence and called for an inquiry.

"People don't understand democracy here," the sultan said. "They think it simply means disobedience to the authorities."

Such talk exasperates people like Maman Abon, a newspaper publisher who has had several run-ins with the government.

"The sultan's ideas are false and lies," he said. "What Niger needs is for human rights to be respected."

Mr. Abon said he strongly supported Washington's decision to end aid to Niger's central government.

Before the coup, annual U.S. development aid to Niger was about \$20 million; now it is under \$2 million and that is to be eliminated by the end of the year. The cuts have had widespread reverberations for the 10 million people in Niger, one of the world's poorest countries, where one in three children dies before the age of 5 and the average life expectancy is 44.

The United States has already cut aid for programs in family planning, forestry protection, agricultural training, small credit assistance, and other projects.

The sultan, who says his role is to defend tradition, calls Washington's decision to the aid to the advance of democracy unfortunate.

"If democracy does come," he said, "it will not change my role."

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## CUBA: U.S. Snubbed on Rights Resolution

Continued from Page 1

Losing the resolution was "a stunning blunder by the administration" and "an embarrassment for the United Nations," Mr. Thiessen said. He added that it showed "hypocrisy" on the part of Latin American leaders who in Santiago had voiced their support for greater human rights protections in the hemisphere.

Several countries on the UN commission that abstained in the vote last year voted against the U.S.-proposed resolution, which condemned "numerous violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms." The countries included Russia, Pakistan and some African nations.

Uruguay and Chile, which voted in favor last year, abstained this time. Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela also abstained.

The 16 members in favor included Argentina, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and the United States.

The U.S. delegation leader in Geneva, Nancy Rubin, refused to comment on the vote.

Human-rights spokesmen in the United States deplored the vote Tuesday, saying it sent a signal that the main UN panel dealing with human rights "remains a political body."

"It's unfortunate," said Curt Goering, deputy executive director of Amnesty International USA, "because Castro continues to defy the aspirations on human rights of his own people and the international community. His hand needs to be kept to the fire. The human rights problems in Cuba are serious and sustained."

The vote by the 53-member panel will end the mandate of the commission's special investigator into human rights on Cuba.

Carl Johan Groth, the independent UN rapporteur on Cuba since 1992, said in a report last month that the Cuban government continued a policy of often brutal repression of its domestic critics.

But Mr. Groth placed some blame on the U.S. embargo on Cuba installed 40 years ago, which he said had contributed to bitter hardships for civilians.

Wayne Smith, who was the official U.S. representative to Havana from 1979 to 1982, said the commission's vote was "quite clearly a defeat for the United States and a slap at U.S. policy."

He attributed it to "growing irritation and disenchantment on the part of the rest of the international community with our Cuba policy."

Mr. Smith, who visits Cuba frequently, said the vote might help those in the administration who have quietly chafed at that policy, which is built around isolating Cuba and seeking to punish those who engage with the island state.

"There are those in the administration," Mr. Smith said, "who realize it has painted itself into a corner and probably would like to get out."

The UN vote appeared to vindicate Mr. Castro's politically risky decision to invite the Pope for a historic visit in January, a move some analysts have called a "master stroke" by the Cuban leader.

"I thought the Pope's visit was a watershed," said Robert White, president of the Center for International Policy, in Washington. "He and Castro traded subtle barbs throughout the visit, but the one thing they agreed on was that the U.S. embargo was unethical."

The U.S. delegation said in a statement read before the Geneva vote that it welcomed Cuba's release of almost 100 political prisoners, but that it was worried by the exile of some and the continued detention of hundreds of others.

Following a clemency appeal from Pope John Paul II, Cuba freed 90 political detainees and more than 200 other prisoners in February, the largest such releases by Havana in years.

Some exile groups in Florida have maintained, however, that the numbers of new arrests have been close to those of prisoners freed.

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## BANK: Duisenberg-Trichet Rivalry for Post Brings Out Hidden French-German Disputes

Continued from Page 1

signifies that they have surrendered a key element of sovereignty through the single currency without loosening German control over the European economy.

This was the essential presumption in France's willingness to accept European monetary unification. In the French view, if Germany's money is at the head for the next eight years of a European central bank located in Frankfurt, then Paris will be deprived of what it believed the euro would bring it in terms of parity with Bonn in European decision-making.

The dispute appears to be beyond the point where there are happy solutions. Designed to serve a grand undertaking as its symbol of non-partisan probity, the bank's presidency is emerging instead as damaged goods.

If the job goes to Mr. Duisenberg, he will have been privately characterized by the French as a ventriloquist's dummy for the Bundesbank. If the choice is Mr. Trichet, he will have been made out by other European partners to be an agent of France's unwillingness to set the central



## EDITORIALS/OPINION

# Herald Tribune

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## Deciphering China

### Something Is Stirring

Nine years after it crushed the Tiananmen Square democracy movement, China's leadership seems ever so slightly to be loosening its stranglehold on political dissent. It is too soon to know whether the new openness will last, or grow, but something is stirring in China that bears encouragement and close monitoring by the United States.

On Sunday, Wang Dan, the most prominent leader of the Tiananmen movement still in prison, was released for medical treatment in the United States. That comes after last November's medical release of China's senior democracy campaigner, Wei Jingsheng, and signals a somewhat more humane attitude toward those who have challenged Communist Party rule. Regrettably, Mr. Wang and Mr. Wei had to accept exile from China as a condition of their release.

Perhaps more significant is the increased latitude tentatively allowed for people to campaign in China for limited democratic reforms. Since January a number of newspapers and journals have printed lively exchanges on subjects like expanding individual rights, extending village elections and shrinking the reach of the government and the Communist Party.

Since a party congress last year con-

firmed President Jiang Zemin's position as China's most powerful leader, he has seemed more willing to depart from earlier orthodoxies. Li Peng, but his new position as speaker of Congress gives him a less direct role in enforcing conformity. The most dramatic change has been the designation of Zhu Rongji, a strong economic reformer, as prime minister. His program does not include political liberalization but does call for the party and government to step back from direct control of economic life.

The new openness remains limited and could easily be reversed. Beijing still harshly punishes any advocacy of independent labor unions at a time when labor unrest over economic issues and working conditions is increasing. Washington should continue to press for the release of political prisoners not yet benefiting from the new climate.

Twice in recent decades, in 1978 and 1989, China seemed to edge warily toward greater democracy only to be thrown back by a new wave of repression. This time, continued modernization of China's economy may prove a powerful incentive for political reform. That is certainly something the world would cheer, and a development that Bill Clinton should encourage as he prepares to visit China in June.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

### But Arrests Continue

It was front-page news on Monday that China had sent the well-known dissident Wang Dan into American exile, just as it was last November when the democracy advocate Wei Jingsheng was taken from prison and put on a jet to Detroit. But a steady flow of arrests did not make the front pages around America or even a menial in most newspapers.

There was the arrest in January of Li Qingxi, an unemployed former health worker who had urged colleagues to form independent unions. Shen Li-ang, a former prosecutor, was sentenced to two years of "re-education through labor" this month, apparently because he criticized the selection of former Prime Minister Li Peng to head China's Parliament. Yang Qinhong and Father Lu Geoyou are not household names in the West, either. The former was sentenced in March to three years at hard labor, apparently for speaking on radio free Asia in favor of free unions; the latter, a Catholic priest, was reportedly arrested on April 5 while preparing to say Mass.

Wang Dan's release was part of a delicate unspoken deal between the Clinton and Jiang administrations. Bill Clinton dropped America's customary sponsorship of a resolution on China's human rights abuses at an annual UN conference. President Jiang sent Wang Dan into exile. Now the way is clear for Mr. Clinton's visit to China in June.

the first by a U.S. president since the Tiananmen massacre in 1989.

Wang Dan was a student leader of the peaceful protest that preceded that crackdown, and as a result was jailed until 1993. Like Mr. Wei, he had the almost unimaginable courage to resume his pro-democracy activities immediately after his release, despite the near certainty that China's Communist regime would jail him again. It did, and he has spent the past three years in jail.

So there can be only joy that he is free, albeit in forced exile. Yet there is a danger, as China bargains with its dissidents on one side, of losing sight of the thousands who remain in jail or labor camps, and of those added to the prison population week after week.

China's regime is implementing economic reforms that have greatly increased many people's freedom to move, choose their own jobs and travel. But, despite a few signs of liberalization, freedoms of expression, association and belief remain tightly constricted — a potentially destabilizing combination.

As Wang Dan wrote in 1995, before his second arrest, China could minimize the danger of social and worker unrest by giving the public "a chance to express its dissatisfaction through democratic channels." But that would carry a different risk — to the survival of China's Communist regime. That is why the regime still is doing what it can to make sure Mr. Wang's message will not be heard in his homeland.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## Pilots Need Warning

Last week Vice President Al Gore invoked three fatal airplane crashes, in Colombia, Guam and Bosnia, to reacquaint the American public with a danger known as "controlled flight into terrain." This refers to flying an aircraft into a mountain or other natural obstacle, like the ocean, because the pilot has lost his sense of the plane's relation to its surroundings. It has been a major cause of accidents in America and abroad.

The risks can be cut dramatically, but only if airlines invest more in pilot training and hasten installation of the latest terrain-avoidance warning system in cockpits.

Major U.S. airlines and some of their West European counterparts are voluntarily outfitting their fleets with advanced warning systems. Regional airlines and smaller operators are likely to need a nudge.

That is why Mr. Gore championed the Federal Aviation Administration's plan to require any aircraft with turbine engines and six seats or more to be equipped with advanced terrain-avoidance equipment by 2000 for new planes and 2003 for existing ones. These computer-enhanced devices display the terrain ahead and alert pilots when they are coming dangerously close to a collision or about to undershoot or overshoot a runway.

Similar proposals should be pressed abroad. Air travel is global, and foreign carriers and international airspace need to be made safer, too.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Other Comment

#### Social Security Countdown

Social Security has been a huge success in America. It provides benefits to 44 million people who are elderly, disabled or survivors of deceased workers. More than three-fifths of the elderly derive the majority of their income from Social Security.

Social Security also provides families of active workers with a form of life insurance worth more than \$12 trillion — more than all private life insurance currently in force.

But the system has to change. The number of beneficiaries will double in the next four decades while the number of workers who pay the taxes that support the system will grow by only 17 percent. Although the program's receipts now exceed its expenditures by more than \$100 billion a year, the revenue will cover only 70 to 75 percent of promised benefits after 2029.

—Henry J. Aaron and Robert D. Reischauer, commenting in *The Washington Post*.

## Yes, Politics Is Words, and Expert Politics Heals

By E. J. Dionne Jr.

WASHINGTON — As the negotiations over the Northern Ireland peace agreement neared a climax, Tony Blair offered a thought that seemed a politician's idea. "The trouble with this situation is that words matter, every word matters," he said.

Politics is dismissed by those who dislike it as nothing but words, words signifying whatever politicians decide they do. This seems especially true for politicians like Mr. Blair or Bill Clinton who are good with words and, when necessary, at keeping things vague.

But Mr. Blair was right. Words matter because politics matters. The peace agreement in Northern Ireland reminds us that politics is an art which, properly practiced, provides an alternative to bloodshed. Politics can create formulas that allow people to break with past failures and move beyond seemingly insoluble problems.

When someone accomplishes something good, the tendency is to write off

the achievement as inevitable. The Irish agreement is seen as the product of forces that rendered the Protestant-Catholic conflict obsolete. The conflict may be obsolete, but the agreement was by no means inevitable.

It is true that the vast improvement of the economic situation in Ireland makes partnership between North and South more attractive, or at least less repellent, to Protestants. It is also true that Ireland, although still the West's most religious country, has secularized. And the existence of the European Union, combined with a global economy, has created a Europe in which regions can matter more than nation-states.

But large forces do not create history. People working with them do. That is where politicians come in. It took ingenious politicians to find a compromise to ease anxieties. The

North will remain part of Britain for the foreseeable future, but the deal would create new all-Irish institutions to promote cooperation between North and South. Catholics can see such institutions as a united Ireland in embryo, even if the gestation period may be long.

That formula has been around for years. Political skills brought it to life. This is where George Mitchell, the former U.S. Senate majority leader, came in. When he got involved, he was dismissed by some as a mere politician. The point was that he is a politician, a skilled practitioner of the arts of persuasion and confidence-building.

"There has been so much hatred here that people start out with a presumption that the other guy is acting in bad faith," Mr. Mitchell said. "There's no trust, so they want every detail spelled out in black and white on the page." Those words again.

The man who tried so hard to get President Clinton's health bill through

Congress learned something from the struggle. And yes, Mr. Clinton, Mr. Blair, Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern and the key Northern Irish players are all quintessential politicians, too.

It has long been asserted that the vast majority in the North, Protestant and Catholic, wants peace. But this has been a disempowered majority. Next month's referendum on the agreement will test whether the peaceable majority exists and, if it does, transfer power to its ranks. That will be the greatest achievement of all.

The historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. argued some years ago that, at its best, democratic politics is about "the search for remedy." The Irish settlement is a triumph for the politics of remedy.

It was said famously that war is politics by other means. The corollary is that politics is the only alternative to violence. We should honor the political craft far more than we do.

Washington Post Writers Group

## Will Senators Stop and Think About NATO Expansion?

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — With their heads presumably cleared by two weeks at home, U.S. senators have returned to the issue of NATO expansion. They tried but failed to focus on it in March. This time they vow to see it through to a vote. Let us hope that they have their thinking caps on.

Before they went out for Easter, Senator John Warner of Virginia, the Republicans' leading voice on national security issues, told me he could count no more than 15 other senators who shared his doubts about adding Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to the alliance.

Only if it appears that the potential opposition may approach the 34 votes needed to block this questionable action will Bill Clinton feel compelled to give the American people a clear explanation of the course to which he is committing this nation, something that he has conspicuously failed to do so far.

Charles Krauthammer, whose typically contains much good sense, tried last week to fill in for

President Clinton by providing a rationale for expanding NATO more compelling than what he called the "pabulum" and "rubbish" offered by administration spokesmen.

Cutting through State Department boilerplate about "extending the borders of peace," Mr. Krauthammer said NATO was "expanding in the service of its historic and continuing mission: containing Russia."

"It says to the world, and particularly to the Russians, that the future of Central Europe is settled," Mr. Krauthammer wrote. "The no-man's-land is no more. Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic are now securely part of the American-allied West, Finis. And if any Russians entertain other ideas, they can forget about it."

You have to admire that like-it-or-lump-it logic. But Mr. Krauthammer leaves one big question unanswered: If it is smart to move NATO's front line eastward, why not do a real

job of containment and sign up all the countries in Russia's neighborhood?

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright might like the idea. Soon after the first three recruits were invited last year, she said: "We must pledge that the first new members will not be the last, and that no European democracy will be excluded because of where it sits on the map."

Five other countries have been promised early consideration: Romania, Slovenia, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Slovakia will not be far behind. And why not Ukraine and other former Soviet republics struggling for democracy? That would be containment with a capital C.

Only two problems. Pull out a map and ask yourself how the United States and its allies would guarantee these new NATO members that an attack on their territory from any source would be dealt with ex-

actly as if it were an attack on Paris, London or Chicago.

That pledge has made NATO the most successful military alliance of this century. It should not be given lightly, especially if you agree that Russia may no longer be Communist but is still a major power that inevitably will seek to dominate its region.

None of the current NATO countries envisages sending its ground troops to fight on this vastly enlarged frontier. The security guarantee will have to be underwritten by America's nuclear force — a prospect that assuredly will motivate Russia to maintain its own nuclear weapons, rather than join America in scaling them down.

More broadly, a policy of aggressive containment will inevitably be seen by Russians as threatening. Boris Yeltsin has gone along, grudgingly accepting a Clinton policy that effectively bars Russia from NATO membership but creates a fig leaf NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council which, Mrs. Albright promises, "gives Russia

no opportunity to dilute, delay or block NATO decisions." In his current weakness, Mr. Yeltsin has no alternative.

But Susan Eisenhower, granddaughter of the former president and a student of Russian foreign policy, has documented scores of statements by leading Russian figures, both democrats and hard-liners, expressing anger at NATO expansion. Even a moderate like Grigori Yavlinsky has declared: "It is absurd to believe in NATO's peaceful intentions."

Jack Matlock, the former U.S. ambassador to Moscow, says: "There is no question that our decision to take on new members now, when no country in Eastern Europe faces a security threat from the outside, will greatly complicate our efforts to see to it that the vast stocks of nuclear weapons now in Russia are never used against us or our allies."

Think, senators, think. And force President Clinton to address these issues.

The Washington Post

## Netanyahu Flies High, but It Better Not Go to His Head

By Thomas L. Friedman

WASHINGTON — Clinton administration officials insist that this time, for sure, no kidding, absolutely, positively, the Mideast peace process is entering its endgame. Either Yasser Arafat and Benjamin Netanyahu say "yes" to the U.S. compromise plan for tying up all the outstanding issues before final-status negotiations, or else.

The "or else" is that the Clintonites will make their compromise proposals public and then let the parties feed for themselves.

And since it is Mr. Netan-

yahu who has been resisting the U.S. plan — for a roughly 13 percent phased Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank in return for phased Palestinian fulfillment of security and political commitments — the threat is directed primarily at him.

Alas, Mr. Netanyahu does not seem to be quaking in his boots. Give him his due. For all his fumbling, he understands power. He can smell weakness. And for now he clearly detects an imbalance of power in his favor.

which is why he keeps calling the Clinton team's bluff.

He detects that the U.S. defeat of the Soviet Union and Iraq has left the Arab states with no military option. They can huff and puff, but none of them will bring any military weight to bear on behalf of the Palestinians. Both the Arab and the Palestinian middle classes have, for the moment, opted out of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

He detects that with gasoline at \$1 a gallon (26 cents a

liter) in the United States and American oil companies diversified outside the Middle East, the Arab oil lobby in Washington today is dead. So now when the Israel lobby calls senators, like Connie Mack and Joe Lieberman, and tells them to jump, the only question they ask is: How high?

Sensors Mack and Lieberman sponsored a Senate letter effectively demanding that Bill Clinton abandon America's balanced mediator role in Arab-Israeli negotiations — which produced the 1973 disengagement accords, Camp David and the Madrid breakthrough — and instead use America's weight to pressure Mr. Arafat to accept whatever Mr. Netanyahu offers.

Mr. Netanyahu detects that Mr. Clinton and Al Gore have no stomach for any politically explosive showdown with him. He detects that the president's national security adviser, Sandy Berger, is more willing to bring domestic political calculations into U.S. foreign policy than any previous NSC adviser.

And he detects that Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, although she got off to an excellent start in the Middle East, has lost her nerve — partly because she is always uncertain of how much Mr. Clinton will back her and partly because she has yet to articulate any coherent framework for U.S. foreign policy and the national interest, and therefore she has been unable to extract Arab-Israeli diplomacy from domestic U.S. politics.

The question is: What will Mr. Netanyahu do with this imbalance of power? He seems to think he has two options.

Option one is to use his leverage to cut a good deal, a better deal than the Labor Party ever could have got, a deal that whittles the Palestinian demands (for this second-phase withdrawal) down from 20 to 30 percent of the West Bank to 11 or 12 percent — but a deal that still leaves the Palestinians with enough gains to want to continue Oslo and cooperate with Israel on security. This option would cost him some support within his own rightist coalition, but would make him a hero nationally.

Option two is to assume that he can use the imbalance of power to cram whatever he wants down the Palestinians' throats — such as less than full sovereignty over less than half the West Bank. And if the Palestinians won't accept that, so this option assumes, he can live with the stalemate at no cost because the United States will not punish him, because the Arabs will never get their act together, and because Israel's Labor Party is too weak to mount any domestic challenge.

But there is a third option, one that Mr. Netanyahu may not see. It is option two with a different ending — one in which everyone doesn't just bow to this imbalance of power.

In this option, the U.S.-Israeli relationship slowly erodes: the Arab cold war against Israel re-emerges; Israel gets re-ghettoized in the region and eventually exposed to a hot war with unconventional weapons; and the Palestinian middle class gets re-radicalized and starts killing again — first its own leaders and then Israelis.

Beware of option three.

The New York Times

## Discuss Biological Weapons

By Richard Preston

NEW YORK — For decades, the conventional view among American scientists was that biological weapons were out of much of a problem. Meanwhile, powerful bio-weapons were developed and deployed by the Soviet Union and probably by other countries, and the knowledge of how to make them has spread.

Smallpox virus can be made in glass jars the size of wine bottles and released into the air with a humidifier. An FBI scientist says: "We're seeing a lot of hoaxes, and incompetent people trying to make biological weapons. The incidents are happening at a rate of roughly one a month. My feeling is that sooner or later someone is going to get it right."

Having failed to come to grips with the problem, the scientific community and the government owe the public a makeup effort. It could start with a few simple measures.

The first step needs to be involvement of public health doctors in emergency planning. Public health surveillance needs to be strengthened. That would have an immediate payoff, since it would help control new and emerging "natural" diseases that are now taking lives in America. And if a bio-terrorist attack is recognized early, many lives can be saved.

Consider what might happen if a pound or two of dried anthrax were released into the air of New York City. Many thousands of people might be exposed, but only a small fraction of them would get sick and die. It would happen over time — time enough to save many people if some basic preparations have been made.

Anthrax incubates in the body for three days to several weeks after exposure. Then the first symptoms appear. Virtually no doctor in the

United States has seen a case of anthrax or knows how to diagnose it. The symptoms of anthrax resemble flu or a cold; the victim dies of what looks like pneumonia.

Many days might pass before it would finally become apparent that New York had been hit with anthrax. But where? And how much anthrax went into the air? The FBI would come under extraordinary pressure to find the perpetrator, who would be long gone, and the trail might have gone cold.

Everyone in the city would wonder if he had been exposed and whether another attack might occur. There would be an overwhelming demand for antibiotics, which can cure anthrax provided they are taken before symptoms appear. Antibiotics would disappear from the shelves instantly, and the demand would create a national shortage.

There is a good vaccine for anthrax: it can work even if given to a person who has already been exposed. The government would need to fly in many tons of antibiotics and vaccine. But there's no stockpile of antibiotics or anthrax vaccine. Such a stockpile might discourage a terrorist from using anthrax.

A Web site should be set up that any public health or primary care doctor could look at, offering basic information and training modules in anthrax and smallpox. (Wannabe terrorists are already using the Internet to spread information about bio-weapons; they are ahead of the public health doctors.)

A medical training module would cost around \$200,000 to set up — peanuts. It could make a big difference. Early detection of a bio-terror event

not only would save lives, it would enable law enforcement people to get on the trail of a terrorist faster.

Anthrax is not contagious and does not spread. Smallpox spreads like chain lightning. Since the entire human species now lacks immunity to smallpox (the shot wears off), it is the planet's most dangerous potential biological weapon.

If smallpox were released anywhere in America, experts believe that at least 20 million to 30 million people would need to be vaccinated quickly. Right now, there are only about 7 million usable doses of vaccine on hand.

Enough vaccine to protect the entire American population could be stored in a building smaller than a garage, and the vaccine would last for decades before it had to be replaced with fresh stocks.

That would pretty much remove smallpox from the arsenal of a terrorist. It would also take smallpox away from Saddam Hussein far more effectively (and cheaply) than bombing his laboratories.

One other step is needed. The community of biologists in the United States has maintained hand-wringing silence on the ethics of creating bio-weapons — a reluctance to talk about it with the public, even a disbelief that it is happening. Biological weapons are a disgrace to biology.

Top biologists should assert their leadership and speak out, taking responsibility on behalf of their profession for the existence of these weapons and the means of protecting the population against them, just as leading physicists did a generation ago when nuclear weapons came along.

The writer, author of "The Hot Zone" and "The Cobra Event," contributed this comment to *The New York Times*.

### IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

#### 1898: Nations at War

LONDON — The Times, in a leader, says: "The long suspense is now at an end, and Spain and the United States are at war, though without any formal declaration to that effect. How and where the first blow will be struck probably depends as much upon the chapter of accidents as upon the volition of either Power. There is no special responsibility attaching to the firing of the first shot, seeing that both nations are now clearly committed to the arbitrament of war."

Premier, marked the occasion with a new manifesto, which bears the date "Year One of the New Era," and in which he proclaims anew the unalterable determination of the "Shirts" to "accomplish their mission."

#### 1948: Anti-Red Vote

ROME — More than half of Italy's new Assembly and more than half the elected members of the Senate will be members of the Christian Democratic party, it was announced tonight (April 21) on the basis of final returns. Some Italians, even among those who supported the Christian Democrats, seemed stunned today as they contemplated the results. Even the Christian Democrats admitted that a large part of their support came from persons who are not sympathetic with the whole Catholic program but merely wanted to strengthen Italy's strongest and Communist force.

#### 1923: Italy's 'New Era'

ROME — All Italy, not excepting the unwilling Socialists, is celebrating its national holiday today (April 21), the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, and the festivities in the Eternal City have been particularly impressive. Signor Mussolini, the

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OPINION/LETTERS

# Disarray in Today's Smaller Russia

By William Pfaff

PARIS — The knockabout in Moscow between Boris Yeltsin and the Duma over the president's nomination of Sergei Kiriyenko as prime minister reflects an institutional disorder far from solution.

The Duma is set up in a way that has given it an investment in irresponsibility. Irresponsible opposition is virtually the only power available to it. The Duma has deployed this power against Mr. Kiriyenko's nomination despite Mr. Yeltsin's threat to dissolve Parliament and call new elections, and his offers of apartments and dachas to compliant deputies.

The president has more power than is good for him or for the state, functioning as a latter-day czar. Behind his visible conflict with the Duma is the half-visible struggle among that handful of men who dominate the privatized economy, each with his favored politicians, and each with his own publishing or media group.

Even Scientology now is alleged to be part of the mixture, since not only is Mr. Kiriyenko accused of being linked to the sect — which he flatly denies — but credible Western European reports claim that the Scientologists are, amidst the general Russian economic disorder and moral disarray,

actively recruiting people in the high-technology and military-industrial sectors. If true, that gives one pause.

Something else that has yet really to influence how the Russians perceive their present situation is the great geographic and demographic change the country has undergone since 1989. The scale of the change is ill-appreciated in the West as well, which is inclined to take it for granted that because Russia is the former Soviet Union it is still the same country.

It is not. It may still be nearly twice the size of the United States, but it is a quarter smaller than the Soviet Union. Of its present territorial extent (some 17 million square kilometers, or 6.6 million square miles), less than 10 percent is arable.

It possesses less than 60 percent of the population of the Soviet Union. The United States' population of 264 million people is nearly 80 percent larger than the 148 million population of today's Russia.

There actually is an advantage for the Russians in this demographic change. In the Soviet Union only 55 percent of the people were ethnic Russians. In today's Russia that figure is 81.5 percent,

with less than 20 percent of the population belonging to 14 acknowledged minority nationalities. It has not been so homogeneous a country since the 18th century.

The present borders of Russia are by no means forever fixed, but while Belarus and even Ukraine, both Slavonic countries, might in the future move back toward a

**Russians are not used to thinking of theirs as a country like other countries.**

closer link to Russia, most of the other new nations created out of the old Soviet Union are likely to want to maintain national independence.

An eventual linkage of many or most of them with Russia on lines something like those of the earlier European Community is imaginable.

But that is a prospect very distant from the vague Commonwealth of Independent States that now exists. The idea of an ambitious Russian drive to recover the territories of the old Soviet and Russian empires is, today, futuristic fantasy, or a worst-case war game exercise.

A multinational empire incorporating backward populations has, in any case, more disadvantages than advantages, even when natural resources are considered. Russia is rich in resources. Its problem is that, in the guise of privatization, the population has been swindled of its national resources and industry by the people who are now manipulating its politics.

Russians are unused to thinking of theirs as a country like other countries. They still possess the crucial military assets of superpower rank as well as the diplomatic ambition, as they demonstrated in the Iraq affair this year.

Their notion of a "European troika" composed of Russia, Germany and France — which seems to have Washington on edge — is a constructive move in this co-

text, since it reinvolves Russia with the West at a moment when Washington's tutelage of the new Russia has become irksome and NATO expansion positively annoying.

The "summit" meeting of this troika, held last month in Moscow, with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Jacques Chirac in attendance, accomplished very little in practical terms and was overshadowed by Mr. Yeltsin's dramatic, and as yet unachieved, remake of his government. But there will be another "European summit" next year in France.

The French naturally welcome any counterweight to the United States in world affairs, and while the present German government fears fraying its relations with the United States, there soon will be German elections and quite possibly a new government with a Social Democrat as chancellor.

There will also soon be a sharply changed European Union, when the single European currency comes into existence in January.

A formal Russian-German-French structure of consultation, which is all that it is (thus far), suits certain of the interests of all three countries. It particularly serves the Russian interest in being taken seriously again. It binds Russia to Western Europe at a moment when NATO expansion pushes it away from the West. So long as it remains unresolved in Moscow, this has to be a good thing.

*International Herald Tribune  
Los Angeles Times Syndicate*

# Digging Thucydides in California

By Victor Davis Hanson

FRESNO, California — "Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians."

With those words a disgraced Athenian admiral matter of factly opens "The History of the Peloponnesian War," his monumental, though unfinished, narrative of the 27-year war (431-404 B.C.) between Athens and Sparta that left the Athenian empire and the entire culture of the Greek city-state in ruins.

Because he had lived through and participated in the events he described, Thucydides had an advantage over later historians, who have had to dig through unreliable records and consult secondary sources.

But even as he set down his record of contemporary events, Thucydides was eyeing posterity. His work, he boasted, was "not an essay to win applause of the moment, but a possession for all time."

If his contemporaries failed to appreciate his genius, perhaps people like ourselves would fathom it two and a half millennia in the future. And so we do. Studying how a seafaring, democratic Athens fought an insular oligarchy like Sparta teaches us a lot about current world crises and the fickleness of public opinion.

Thucydides knew nothing about peace studies, conflict resolution theory, God's will or the United Nations, but he could declare for all time that people go to war over "honor, fear and self-interest." Period.

Thousands of paperback translations of Thucydides are sold each year, bearing out his extraordinary boast. But if his book is timeless, it is also very difficult, and his disturbing ideas turn every modern bromide on its head. So why read him at all?

Yet people do, and in surprising

places. I teach classics at the California State University campus in Fresno, in the middle of an agricultural valley. There is no reason to think a book by an ancient Greek would interest my students. They are the children of farmworkers and the working poor. They are not privileged, nor well prepared

## MEANWHILE

for college. Students here confuse Cleon, the Athenian demagogue, with a warrior race in "Star Trek."

At Stanford University, where I did graduate work, Thucydides was an entirely different historian from the one I have come to know in Fresno. The Thucydides of the graduate seminar is the subject of many pages of high-flow jargon in which, for example, Pericles's funeral oration is discussed as a dry rhetorical exercise that reflects subjective, not absolute, "truth."

I prefer the analysis offered by a Fresno State student.

"Sure, he might have lied a little," he said. "Who does?" And what do you expect? Thucydides with a tape recorder?"

Scholars and graduate students talk grandly of Thucydides "the realist" whose bleak assessment of human nature was a valuable antithesis to romanticism. But this remote, literary language takes us far from the actual Thucydides, a hard-eyed pragmatist whose judgments derive from firsthand experience.

As a working mother at Fresno put it, "Thucydides might like Carter better, but he'd want Reagan dealing with the Russians."

Students in Fresno savor Thucyd-

ides the disgraced admiral. They soak up the street fighting at Plataea, where the women and slaves "yelled from the houses and threw stones and tiles," and root for the blood-hungry Athenians at the slaughter near Delium, who in their fury "fell into confusion in surrounding the enemy and mistook and killed each other."

"I bet he killed a few himself to write like that," observed one student, annoyed and scared, in a late-evening humanities class.

If we are to keep the ideas of Greece alive, we must first rekindle the Hellenic spirit, for the two are inseparable. That spirit, though it may already be lost in the Ivy League, thrives here among students working at Burger King and among night-school returnees, who, once hooked on Thucydides's blood and guts, then — but only then — begin to appreciate the power of his thought.

They welcome a tough guy like Thucydides who shows how their brutal experiences are universal, even banal, and thus explicable through abstract canons that exist "for all time."

In an age like ours in which setbacks and disappointments are dealt with through therapy rather than accepted as evidence of the tragic nature of our existence, Thucydides's honesty comes as a welcome touch of realism. With him there is no "feeling your pain," no pretense of cheap compassion, and there are no easy apologies for what we are and what we have done.

Thucydides offers students of all races and classes the reassurance that we are all more alike than we think. And in so doing, he offers wisdom about the present, but relief from it as well.

*The writer, a professor of Greek at California State University's Fresno campus, contributed this column to The New York Times.*

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Spielberg Project

Regarding "Tough Questions for Spielberg Holocaust Project" (Features, April 14): The article takes some cheap shots at the efforts of Shoah Visual History Foundation and its work to record the testimonies of Holocaust survivors.

I am a volunteer interviewer for both the Shoah Foundation and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and have conducted more than 60 interviews.

The article made an important point: We are racing against time to record the testimonies. But we do not race through interviews. The pre-interview meetings alone take hours out to mention the hours of research and preparation.

I have never felt compelled to limit my interviews to two hours. The interview takes as long as the interview takes; it is not up to the foundation or me. It is up to the person giving testimony.

I do not measure an interview's success by the number of tapes, nor by the number of cars shed by the survivor.

I too great exception to the criticism of oral history. To be sure, oral history is different from lists of transcripts, numbers of people killed and so on. But the Holocaust happened to real people.

By focusing only on documents you miss the full dimension of the Holocaust. The people who suffered did not have calendars and watches handy. They have memories.

I do not take exception to the article's emphasis on the superiority of professional historians and interviewers. Nobody knows all the right questions to ask and there is no such thing as a perfect interview. Different professions will ask different questions.

I interviewed 1 work with the Washington area are highly educated, keenly interested in the subject and sincerely motivated to elicit a high-quality testimony because they want to record the human truths of the Holocaust. We are volunteers who do not get perks and presents, and we have no aspirations in Hollywood.

ESTHER T. FINDER,  
Rockville, Maryland.

was surprised and perplexed by the criticism of the Shoah Foundation. This month I gave my testimony to the foundation. The interview was conducted with the utmost professionalism, sensitivity and integrity.

I am gratified by the thought that my children and grandchildren, and their children and grandchildren, will be able to learn about my Holocaust experiences long after I am unable to share my experiences with them personally.

Even Spielberg is to be commended for his commitment to recording and preserving the memory of this horrific period in human history.

ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN,  
New York.

The writer is the national director of the Anti-Defamation League.

### Enough Already

Regarding "City-Country Metropolis Fuel America's Growth" (Opinion, March 31) by David S. Broder:

So America is bigger, better, more innovative and more powerful than everybody else. Far out, as one used to say in my youth.

Some of us are beginning to get fed up with such triumphalism, however. The article states that Los Angeles-Long Beach is economically bigger than Taiwan, Switzerland, Belgium or Sweden. But where am I more likely to get shot? In Taiwan, Switzerland, Belgium or Sweden — or in Los Angeles?

NICOLAS DE TREY,  
Rueil-Malmaison,  
France.

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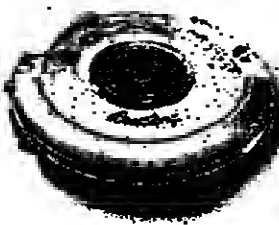


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## INSTRUMENTS FOR PROFESSIONALS™



# Primo Levi's Journey Home: Imagining Life After Auschwitz

By Thane Rosenbaum  
New York Times Service

**N**EW YORK — Take one Italian chemist; add the sulfurous poison pellets of Zyklon B, the stench of rotting, skeletal corpses and an entire periodic table of indifference; mix it all together in a flaming petri dish called Auschwitz, and you have a formula that could transform a man of science into a poet of atrocity.

That was the life of Primo Levi, who was best known for the classic literary account of his internment in a Nazi death camp, "Survival in Auschwitz," which was published in 1947. After being liberated from the camp, Levi had eventually returned to his home in Turin, where he became a conscience of the nation, an icon of the international human rights movement and the author of many books and essays. In 1987, at the age of 67, he killed himself.

Now, more than 50 years after Auschwitz and more than a decade after Levi's death, his journey home is the subject of a feature film, "The Truce," directed by Francesco Rosi of Italy and starring John Turturro as Levi.

The film, which opens in New York on Friday, is based on "The Reawakening" (the title of the book in Italian is "La Tregua," or "The Truce"), a 1963 sequel memoir that begins with Levi's liberation from the camp and tracks his circuitous return to Turin.

"Many films have been made about the Holocaust," said Rosi, who filmed "The Truce" in Ukraine, in English, with a supporting cast largely of Italians and Ukrainians, "but they are never about combining the tragedy with the vitality of a man's reawakening and the slow process of reclaiming his life."

Which perhaps explains why Rosi adapted "The Reawakening" rather than "Survival in Auschwitz."

The idea of taking the pages of a literary masterpiece, putting them onto celluloid frames and winding the visual result through a projector is, of course, nothing new. The novels of Jane Austen, Henry James and Edith Wharton have made this a dream decade for costume and set designers. But these were writers of fiction, and they weren't writing about Auschwitz, which is not a proper setting for Technicolor spectacle.

In "The Truce," the scenes of the



John Turturro in Francesco Rosi's "The Truce."

camp are brief, in flashback and in black and white, as if to underscore that Auschwitz stands apart — a place without tone or texture, a place where the usual moral vocabulary fails.

"I never considered making a film of 'Survival in Auschwitz,' because it can't be done," said Rosi, who also made "Illustrious Corpses" (1976), "Christ Stopped at Eboli" (1979) and "Three Brothers" (1981). "It would be a sacrilege. With 'The Truce,' the audience gets some sense of what happened, but through the filter of literature and with a story that a camera can show."

While "The Truce" may be a feel-good sequel to a horror film that cannot be made, the movie nevertheless seemed haunted in its own inception. It took Rosi five years to begin production, and the filming took 20 weeks. The weather never cooperated. The isolation and stark landscape of Ukraine were hard on the crew members, many of whom became homesick. The cinematographer, Pasquale de Santis, died before the film was finished.

"I'm not superstitious, but maybe this is what happens when you dig up things and fool around with ghosts," said Turturro, who lost more than 30 pounds in the interest of authenticity.

"When I first saw the camp," he

continued, referring to a recreation of Auschwitz in Ukraine, "I was wearing the striped uniform and the wooden clogs, and my legs went weak. I was very shaken. When you're behind the barbed wire, you feel the impossibility of understanding the experience because you know that you are ultimately free."

For both the director and the star, "The Truce" became a sort of obsession, a commitment to giving Levi's picturesque words a new artistic life.

"A week before his death, I spoke with him and asked if I could make a film of 'The Truce,'" Rosi said of Levi. "He told me that I brought light to him in a dark moment. 'The Truce' always reminded him of the joyousness of life, and how important it is to smile and to love. But to succeed with this film, both Levi and I realized that I was taking a risk, and he took it with me."

And what was that risk? "The film had to balance the grotesque with all that is beautiful about life," Rosi explained. "It also had to be respectful of the Holocaust and faithful to Levi's memoir."

To that end, Turturro occasionally speaks Levi's words in voice-over. He does so in dialogue, too, making statements like these: "We come from a place where one forgets passion"; "God cannot exist if Auschwitz exists"; "The worst thing that they did was to crush our souls, our capacity for compassion, filling the void with hatred, even toward each other."

Rosi's adaptation takes one controversial turn in a scene in which a train filled with survivors pulls into Munich and a German soldier, upon seeing Levi dressed in his camp uniform, kneels down in repentance. In the book, Levi is ignored.

"I felt the need to represent the accepting of responsibility by showing this gesture from a German," Rosi said. "I didn't mean it to look like a pardoning, or to alleviate German guilt, because nobody can do that. But I want to believe that at least one German would have made this kind of gesture."

Ironically, neither Rosi nor Turturro cared much for films about the Holocaust until they collaborated on "The Truce." "I felt that these films were always filled with too much emotion, too histrionic, too much was being discharged

in the performance," Turturro said. "Instead, I think they should implore, more like a documentary. That's why I've always been more interested in how the Holocaust happened, or what happened after."

The fact that "The Truce" takes place just after the Holocaust makes it not only watchable but also unusual, important and subject to interpretation beyond standard film criticism. The film begins with a scene of Russian soldiers on horseback, liberating Auschwitz. Levi and a group of survivors are ood free, but to do what? Having lived through a time of unmediated madness, they must now put aside the regimen of survival and reacquire themselves with the pleasures and simpler pains of ordinary life. And they also have to find the strength to go home.

Although made by an Italian director, "The Truce" in many ways has the feel of an American road movie, featuring a

group of people on something of a mythical journey — not escaping home but headed toward it, yet ambivalent about what awaits them when they finally arrive.

**W**ITH the Holocaust as backdrop, however, home can't be found by following a straight line. Instead, for Levi and his fellow survivors, the journey is plagued by detour and indirection as they make their way through the villages and resettlement camps and along the abandoned train tracks of Central Europe.

"With Levi, it's not about his experience, but how he brings you along with him," Turturro said. "He's a great tour guide and a master of simple details. My job was to be as understated as possible and to let the audience observe a man who was himself an observer."

Unlike most Holocaust survivors,

however, Levi had something to go back to. His home was intact, and in the film his mother and sister are there to embrace him upon his return. This ending suits the overall mood of "The Truce," with its emphasis on Levi's re-entry into the world and the reawakening of his humanity. But no matter how well-intentioned "The Truce" is, many viewers will leave the film with a misleadingly romantic impression of what it meant to exit Auschwitz.

Most survivors remained in displaced-persons camps, with nowhere to go, and with no one waiting for them anywhere. Home, if it existed at all, was too emblematic of death. Most Germans gave no indication of being sorry. And Levi, of course, eventually killed himself, bringing into question whether he recoiled his survival with the horror of what he had witnessed — whether his return to the daily sensations of life ever did truly heal him.

## BOOKS

### THE ARGUMENT CULTURE

Moving From Debate to Dialogue

By Deborah Tannen, 348 pages, \$25, Random House

Reviewed by Larissa MacFarquhar

**O**NCE upon a time there were three little pigs and a wolf, and the four of them were engaged in a research project testing the relative merits of various building materials. Having implemented an experimental protocol that involved subjecting straw, wood and brick to extreme weather conditions, the pigs and the wolf concluded that brick was the most durable of the substances under review, and wrote up a joint report of their results. Such, at any rate, might be the account of the story given by the best-selling sociolinguist Deborah Tannen.

Author of the self-help conversation guides "That's Not What I Meant!" and "You Just Don't Understand," Tannen has spent her career showing how interactions that look like battles are often just misunderstandings between people pursuing a common goal. And while her optimism doesn't usually pose a mortal threat, as it might if adopted by little pigs, it does produce a rather bizarre misunderstanding of American public life.

Tannen's new book, "The Argument Culture," claims, as one might expect, that we argue too much. We have created, in Tannen's words, "a pervasive warlike atmosphere that makes us approach public dialogue, and just about any thing we need to accomplish, as if it were a

fight." Politicians trip up partisan opponents rather than cooperate for the good of the country. Lawyers engage in inane adversarial tactics, like sending documents on paper that smells so bad it makes people sick. Television producers recruit enraged zealots for shows where they yell at one another like lunatics instead of conversing maturely about their differences.

Sometimes this argument culture seems to result from malice, or a cynical effort to boost ratings; but often it's the product of a sincere conviction that the best way to get at truth is to stage a fight.

The trouble is that polarized debates, according to Tannen, leave us without the facts we need to make up our minds. More worrisome still, "continual reference to 'the other side' spawns 'a pervasive conviction that everything has another side — with the result that people begin to doubt the existence of any facts at all.' Sometimes, Tannen reminds us severely, "there is only one side: truth."

If only we had the facts in front of us and were prepared to be rational, in other words, we'd all recognize truth when we saw it. So while we argue too much, we seldom truly disagree.

That is also Tannen's message in "You Just Don't Understand": Men and women seem to speak different languages, but actually speak the same language; their conflicts are really just misunderstandings. This is where Tannen comes in with her techniques for translating between the sexes.

Tannen is the Michael Dukakis of emotional life: She's a relationship technocrat, in the context of a marriage, say,

it does seem plausible that a husband and wife may have common goals. But is this also true in public life?

Tannen assumes that public debates are tools for producing answers, for getting at the truth. But are they? It seems, on the contrary, to be the case in many public arguments that one expects an answer; that's why we settle for democracy rather than government by consensus. Debates are less a means for arriving at truth than they are rituals of the First Amendment: Their importance derives not from the conclusions of the participants, but from their very existence.

But besides her strangely un-American attachment to mediation, what Tannen is missing is that conflict is fun.

We love fighting for its own sake, even when one side is obviously wrong. Who knows why we do — Tannen cites a study that found that people who have severe mental disabilities often argue with one another because arguing, amusingly enough, turns out to be one of the least cognitively challenging ways to interact.

Remember Francis Fukuy-

ama's vision, in his notorious essay "The End of History?," of a post-1989 world in which everyone agreed that liberal capitalism was the best form of government, and ideological argument came to an end?

This world is Tannen's world. Tannen is Fukuyama put into practice. The difference between them, though, is that while for Tannen the prospect of an end to ideological conflict is utopian, Fukuyama thought such a world would be crushingly boring. And insofar as many of us are more like Fukuyama than Tannen, here may lie a possible explanation for all the ridiculous arguments that Tannen sees on television.

Perhaps those benighted producers go hunting for lunatics in a nostalgic quest for ideological struggle. They, like Fukuyama, are miserably anxious lest Reason at last fulfill its dreadful promise, and they wake up one morning to a Deborah Tannen world in which there is no disagreement left at all.

Larissa MacFarquhar, who reports for The New Yorker, Slate and Arforum, wrote this for The New York Times.

## BEST SELLERS

The New York Times		
This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on list are not necessarily consecutive.		
FICTION		
Rank	Title	Author
1	THE STREET LAWYER	John Grisham
2	PANDORA	Ann Rhee
3	THE LONG ROAD HOME	Danille Steel
4	COLD MOUNTAIN	Charles Frazier
5	PARADISE	Toni Morrison
6	TOMLIN ROBIN COOK	Robin Cook
7	HUMPHREY	Nora Roberts
8	MEMOIRS OF A GISHIA	Arthur Golden
9	BLACK AND BLUE	Anna Quindlen
10	WITH THIS RING	Ann Rhee
11	SUDDEN NISCHIEF	Robert B. Parker
12	BLOOD WORK	Michael Connelly
13	AN INSTANCE OF THE FINGERPOST	Ian Fлемing
14	THE MARK OF THE ASSASSIN	Daniel Silva
15	THE SAITHSONIAN INSTITUTE	Gore Vidal
NONFICTION		
1	TALKING TO HEAVEN	James Van Praagh
2	TUESDAYS WITH MORRIE	Mitch Albom
3	ANGEL'S ASHES	Frank McCourt
4	SPIN CYCLE	Howard Kurtz
5	THE MILLIONAIRE NEXT DOOR	Thomas J. Stanley and William O. Dumas
6	MIDNIGHT IN THE GARDEN OF GOOD AND EVIL	John Berendt
7	INTO THIN AIR	Jon Krakauer
8	THE MAN WHO LISTENS TO HORSES	Monty Roberts
9	CONVERSATIONS WITH GOD: Book 1	Neale Donald Walsch
10	THE PERFECT STORM	Sebastian Junger
11	THE GIFT OF THE JEWS	Thomas Cahill
12	TITANIC: Legend of the World's Greatest Ocean Liner	Susan Wells
13	THE LONG HARD ROAD OUT OF HELL	Marilyn Manson with Neil Strauss
14	JAMES CAMERON'S TITANIC	Ed W. Marsh
15	A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE	Paul Johnson
ADVICE, HOW-TO AND MISCELLANEOUS		
1	THE 9 STEPS TO FINANCIAL FREEDOM	Steve Oram
2	THIRTY WEEKS TO OPTIMUM HEALTH	John Robbins
3	SIMPLE ABUNDANCE	Sarah Ban Breathnach
4	DON'T WORRY, MAKE MONEY	Robert Kiyosaki



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THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER



# Another Movie Star Turn: Kevin Spacey Is a Chilling 'Iceman'

By Sheridan Morley  
International Herald Tribune

**L**ONDON — "The Iceman Cometh," Eugene O'Neill's written over seven years from 1939 and played ever since over more than four hours, has not had an easy history in Britain. Of its two major productions since the war, one had a Hickey who departed in mid-rehearsal and the other caused Ian Holm so massive an attack of stage fright that he spent the next 20 years exclusively in movies, only then returning to the national to storm the other great actor's mountain, "King Lear."

But the great news now, from the Almeida in Islington fringe theater on a remarkable high, having just sent Ju-

liette Binoche into the West End with Pirandello's "Naked" and Liam Neeson as Oscar Wilde with David Hare's "The Judas Kiss," is that at last we have a definitive "Iceman" in Kevin Spacey, yet another Hollywood star on loan to North London at a minimal salary to establish stage credentials unavailable elsewhere.

His Hickey, the wife-murdering leech of the title, is just about the most impressive London star debut I can recall, and in a truly magnificent production, Howard Davies has surrounded him with an equally stellar cast of 20 of the best character actors in town, all adding up to a theatrical team and a stage experience that has been rivaled neither by the National nor the Royal Shakespeare Company these last 20 years.

Spacey's Iceman erupts into a no-hope har in the New York of 1912. Harry Hope's end of the world saloon, there to spread the word that a life of reality, however terrible, is surely better than a slow death of disillusion. Spacey sees the Iceman as a weird mix of Billy Graham and Willy Loman, trying to convince his old drinking pals of the new world that is awaiting them if only they could stay sober enough to cross the street.

Hickey may well be Death or the Messiah as well as the local killer. When he departs, in handcuffs, which he is all too eager to accept, no other living soul in that bar will ever be the same again. His truth spreads like a plague through the saloon, where each

of the drinkers who have had their lives however briefly galvanized and reorganized by Hickey greet his ultimate arrest with something like glee, because it means they can sink back, untroubled and unchallenged, into their pipe dreams.

The brilliance of this Davies production is to understand that it is a group confession and to cast it with such accuracy. Tim Pigott-Smith as the only observer who at the last comes to see what Hickey wanted, Patrick Godfrey and Nicholas Day still fighting out the Boer War, Clarke Peters as the gambling pianist, Ian Bartholomew as the tomorrow man for whom it never comes are but part of a cast who each deserve some kind of medal for gallantry

and for using the few minutes allotted each to make a vehement case for this story to be exclusively about them.

In a powerfully Irish week, Sebastian Barry's "Our Lady of Sligo" (Cottesloe stage at the National) betrays an odd debt to O'Neill. For here too a single character takes center stage for 20-minute monologues of despair and disgust as she looks back on a life wasted by alcohol. Sinead Cusack, in the performance of her career, remains bedridden as she dies of cancer in a 1953 Dublin hospital.

But she too is 53, and it does not take us long to realize that Our Lady of Sligo is not necessarily the religious painting on the wall, nor even perhaps the cancer victim, desperately trying to make some sense of her tragically wasted life even as it wastes her. Not to put it too heavily,

what we have here is Ireland in the first half of this century, condemned by Eamon De Valera to be way outside any European action and turned so far in on herself that drink and illicit sex are all she has left to occupy the passing years.

Nigel Terry gives a no less touching performance as the army officer also drowned in drink and violence. "Our Lady of Sligo" may not ostensibly be connected to the headlines of this week, but once again in giving us Ireland's past as a poetic historian, Barry manages to give us visionary glimpses of an essentially unchanging future. In telling with brutal clarity the story of his own grandmother, Barry has given us the story of her nation in no less torment, and Max Stafford-Clark's production is as magnificent as its two central performances.



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## Laughing at the Sicilian Mob

### A Film Breaches an Invisible Cultural Barrier

By Celestine Bohlen

**P**ALERMO, Italy — Feature films about the Sicilian Mafia used to be predictable fare, like cowboy or kung fu movies. Stock characters included the stern patriarch, the nasty killer, the silent wife, the corrupt businessman and, of course, the lonely anti-Mafia crusader.

Put them together in a mournful struggle of good versus evil, and, poof, there it was: another in a long string of movies that regularly crowded Italian theaters and television screens.

Now along comes a Mafia movie that has none of these characters, not even a moral dimension to speak of, and that is, of all things, a musical comedy. It was filmed in one of Palermo's most notoriously mob-infested neighborhoods, featuring characters literally drawn from the street, and to some extent it's real life.

With its sing-along tunes ("We are the Mafia" is one, sung in Sicilian dialect), nutty dance numbers (featuring Mafiosi waving dead chickens) and chorus of overweight Mafia women complaining about their overbearing men, "Tano to Die For" is a sometimes surrealistic film by Roberto Torre, a 36-year-old director in Palermo. The film does more than challenge clichés about Sicily's Mafia culture, it ridicules them.

The movie reflects a historical necessity, which 10 years ago would have been impossible, said Franco Maresca, an avant-garde Sicilian filmmaker whose movies, made with his partner, Daniele Cipri, present a bleaker vision of Sicily, Italy's southernmost island.

Ten years ago, the actors from the Vucciria neighborhood would not have participated. They would have been afraid to make fun of a Mafioso, to make fun of *omertà*, the Mafia's code of silence. "They were the same people who used to see dead bodies in the streets,"

There was no space for satire then. "It was a war," said Goffredo Fofi, a film critic who once lived in Palermo. "People were losing their lives."

By breaking what had become an invisible cultural barrier, "Tano to Die For," a big hit here in the Sicilian capital, is seen as a cultural monument, a sign of Palermo's recovery from its smothering oppression by a criminal organization that six years ago was

brazenly executing Italy's most celebrated prosecutors.

The murders of two of them in 1992 were the turning point in Italy's war against organized crime. Spurred by popular outrage, the government dispatched army troops to Sicily, and the pace of prosecutions picked up. Today, most of the top bosses are in jail, and while the Mafia is still a pervasive force here, its mystique has been tarnished.

That is where "Tano to Die For" enters the picture. "Tano" is the first denunciation of the Mafia as an ambiguous phenomenon, said Leoluca Orlando, the mayor of Palermo. He is a big booster of Torre's movie, which he calls "an act of liberation."

No one — not Orlando or Torre — would ever argue that the war against the Mafia in Sicily was over. All they are saying is that the time has come for another look at the enemy. In the old days, Orlando recalled, Mafia bosses had nicknames like "the Pope," "the Prince," "the Baron." By the 1980s, he said, when the violence and brutality had gotten out of control, the nickname for Toto Riina, the boss of bosses, was "the Beast."

That shows to what extent the Mafia had become barbarians, said Orlando. And that's what "Tano" does. It reveals their barbarity, their vulgarity, their ambiguity.

Nonetheless, after its release last summer at the Venice Film Festival, the movie stirred debate over whether the Mafia could ever be seen in a humorous light, whether, for instance, scenes of wedding guests being mowed down by machine-gun fire are appropriate in musical comedy.

The argument is an old one, circling the question of whether comedy and humor are appropriate for subjects that are deeply painful and tragic. Torre, a northern Italian who moved to Palermo seven years ago, has little patience for a debate that she says was resolved by the ancient Greeks. She said she did not set out to make fun of the Mafia. "Within the tragedy of the Mafia, there is also a cultural side, a subculture that exists," she said. "That is what I wanted to explore. To see what is really happening in the Mafia neighborhoods, in the homes of the Mafiosi themselves."

The story of Tano Guarrasi, a butcher and small-time Mafia boss who tyrannizes his unmarried sisters, is a true one

that Guarrasi's brother-in-law originally told her in embellished form, with the quasi-mythical details that have given the Mafia a special aura. Discovering the truth, she said, was part of her immersion into the Mafia culture as it really is.

"I really entered into this story, and I was lucky, because it is not an easy world to get into," she said. "You can only enter if you have a middleman to introduce you. It helped that the people who acted in the film co-exist daily with the Mafia. That is the part that I found most fascinating: taking people who were quasi-Mafiosi and putting them into a film about the Mafia. They loved it."

The film, with its snappy music by Nino D'Angelo, a Neapolitan, views Mafia culture and traditions as more grotesque, more exaggerated than the old glossy images usually seen in the genre. In "Tano to Die For," the Mafia initiation rites don't involve pricked fingertips and images of saints, but rather a gaudy song-and-dance of male bonding with a strong homosexual undercurrent.

Similarly, family honor, the tie that binds Sicily's mafia clans, is reduced in the movie to an incestuous relationship between Tano and the sisters he would never let get married.

**N**ONE of these scenes are very flattering to Sicilians, let alone Mafiosi, a fact that has disturbed some people. Giorgio Castellani, a Palermo filmmaker whose father, Michele Greco, was a notorious Mafia boss, found the movie distasteful, saying, "It isn't realism, it is a comic book." He added: "They made a caricature of Sicilians, which I found offensive because we are presented as ugly and monstrous. There are no beautiful women in the film."

Even if the Mafia image is changing, the old stereotypes are still in demand. In his latest movie, "The Grimaldis," the story of a Sicilian family, Castellani had to insert a Mafia figure at the insistence of his producers. "I didn't want to talk about the Mafia in this film, but I was forced to, because you have to meet the needs of the market," he said.

But there are signs that even Italians are wearying of a genre that has been outstripped by reality. This year, ratings for the ninth installment of the hugely popular Mafia television serial "The Octopus" were the lowest ever.

## Cuban Revolution in U.S. Music

By Peter Watrous  
New York Times Staff Writer

**M**IAAMI — As the sun went down on another slug-gishly blissful Miami day, a few dozen demonstrators yelled insults at the 700 or so people who had come to see a screening of Hugo Cancio's movie on the Cuban duo-wop group Los Zafros. The audience, young and old, black and white, filed into the Guzman Theatre in downtown Miami on Thursday night as the underwhelmed police contingent, perhaps 10 in all, watched the demonstrators to see they didn't cross the street. None did.

Inside, the extraordinary Cuban vocal group Gema 4, an a cappella quartet, sang a song, "Habana," originally sung by the Zafros in the early 1960s. Cancio, 33, a Cuban American, shot his film, "Zafros, Locura Azul," in "Blue Madness" in Havana with Cuban actors. It had the audience humming with laughter and remembrance. In Havana it has broken all attendance records and won a prize at the Havana Film Festival. For the Miami audience, it was like gning home.

Cancio brought the film's actors to Miami from Havana (along with Gema 4 and members of Havana's hottest band, La Charanga Habanera, on their way to play in Northampton, Mass., as part of the Fiesta Cubana of the Massachusetts International Festival of the Arts). Their appearance would have been impossible even a year ago because of pressure from rightist Cuban exile groups. After the film, the actors and musicians went to a Miami club. Starfish, where the musicians played for dancers with a local group, just as they might have anywhere else in the United States.



Jose Maria Viter and the singer Xiomara Laiguit.

"A lot of things, big and small, have happened over the last year or so," said Manning Sulazar, a young Cuban American music promoter who is active in the Miami underground's effort to promote Cuban culture. "Jorge Mas Canosa, the leader of the right-wing Cubans, died. The first Latin Midem last year, a music convention, was controversial about its caving in to the demands of local government to ban Cuban music. This year's Midem will have a Cuban band playing. And the singer Carlos Varela played here in a semi-public performance recently with no problems at all."

"So Hugo's movie, and the lack of response from the right wing, is more proof how far Miami has come. Now many institutions are open to things like this. It was an unthinkable event a year ago, and now it seems like the future."

The event's success has emboldened Cancio, a businessman who also runs a music production company, to throw the first full-fledged post-revolutionary Cuban pop music concert in Miami.

Tuesday night, the Cuban singer and hand leader Issac Delgado was to perform at Club Onyx in Miami Beach with full government approvals from both sides of the mango curtain that divides the United States from Cuba. There have been no bomb threats; there were no demonstrations awaiting Delgado's arrival at Miami International Airport, nor were there any for the arrival of the three bands that were on their way to play in Northampton, and continue on their limited tours.

"The concert needs to be done," said Cancio. "A concert done in Miami by Cuban musicians means that things are changing in Miami, things that need to be changed. A concert is a normal thing, it's not out of the ordinary, and people should be able to go out and enjoy some of the best music on earth."

And on Friday night at the Academy of Arts in Northampton, where the idea of a right-wing demonstrator was thoroughly beyond the pale, another kind of history was being made, and another kind of future predicted. The Massachusetts International Festival of the Arts convened Gema 4, Jose Maria Viter's group, and Charanga Habanera to give a three-day demonstration of the great variety of Cuban music.

"I went to Cuba recently," said Donald Sanders, the executive artistic director of the Massachusetts International Festival of the Arts, and a playwright. "I was knocked out by the depth and range of Cuban music, how varied it is, and how little we know about it. Because of politics, it's been concealed from the American public. So we decided to do the Fiesta Cubana, and our audience is perfect for the music, inquisitive and intelligent and open-minded."

## CROSSWORD

### ACROSS

- 1 Not for here
- 5 Garfield's middle name
- 10 Use a lot
- 14 No longer thinking about
- 15 "The Lord of the Rings" character
- 16 Initial, say
- 17 Line of collectible 1980's cards
- 20 Sovereign
- 21 Like Poe stories
- 22 "Fancy" —
- 23 Broadcast snafu

### Solution to Puzzle of April 21

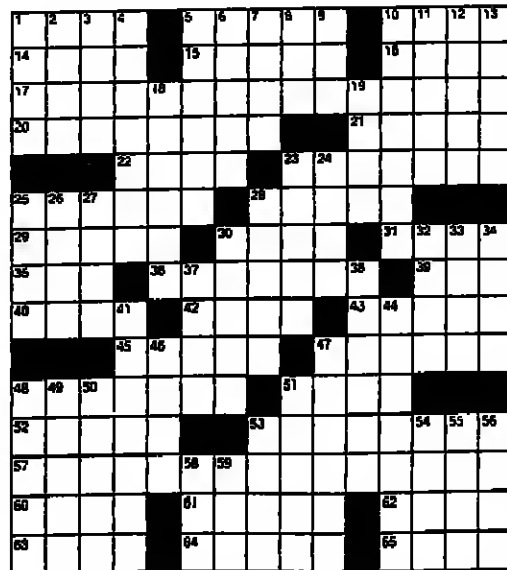
KHAN MOMA PACER  
NOOE ERIC ABAL  
OLOASMETHUSELAN  
XES COMEON NAF  
FRI SOFT ISM  
OCULARS ERAISE  
NEWAMSTERDAM  
TEAM AGO YEAR  
BORROWEDTIME  
GRETA SNAKIN  
IRE OKLA CIA  
NIPS ELLIOT ZIG  
BLUEGRASS ECTION  
ALTAR MOLE ANNA  
DEERE APES SCAT

### DOWN

- 2 Senate attire
- 3 Face shape
- 4 Kind of warfare
- 6 Took a round trip?
- 7 Not pouring smoothly, as a liquid
- 8 Org. quoted on toothpaste tubes
- 9 Miss Piggy, self-referentially
- 10 Priced
- 11 Director Kurosawa
- 12 They form central angles

### DOWN

- 13 30's-40's bandleader Kay
- 14 Shocked
- 15 Job for a plumber
- 16 Asstringent's target
- 17 Ignorers of sound diet
- 18 Hunter Hershiser, maybe
- 19 "Romola" writer
- 20 Lollapalooza
- 21 Withered
- 22 Taylor of "The Nanny"
- 23 London finales



Puzzle by Brendan Emmett Quigley

© New York Times/Edited by Will Shortz

- 24 Use a word processor, maybe
- 25 Roman Catholic org. since 1882
- 26 Phone button
- 27 Stain from scratch
- 28 Carpenter's clamps
- 29 "Atlantic City" director
- 30 The — Reader
- 31 Self-assurance
- 32 Sutter's love?
- 33 Disturb
- 34 String in a string quartet
- 35 Sharp point
- 36 "In & Out" director, 1997
- 37 Hebrew leader
- 38 Show respect to
- 39 Karate schools
- 40 Accustom
- 41 Worker with a pick
- 42 Popular action figure
- 43 Valhalla V.I.P.
- 44 German article

- 45 Spring purchase
- 46 Lat. Luth. and Ukr. once
- 47 Anthem contraction
- 48 Good — day







# German Throws the Book at U.S. Publishing

**By Doreen Carvajal**  
*New York Times Service*

**N**EW YORK — Three years ago, Michael Naumann emigrated from his native Germany to the American republic of letters, a perilous and sometimes unforgiving land. He learned certain harsh cultural lessons as the new and mercurial head of the century-old literary publishing house of Henry Holt & Co.

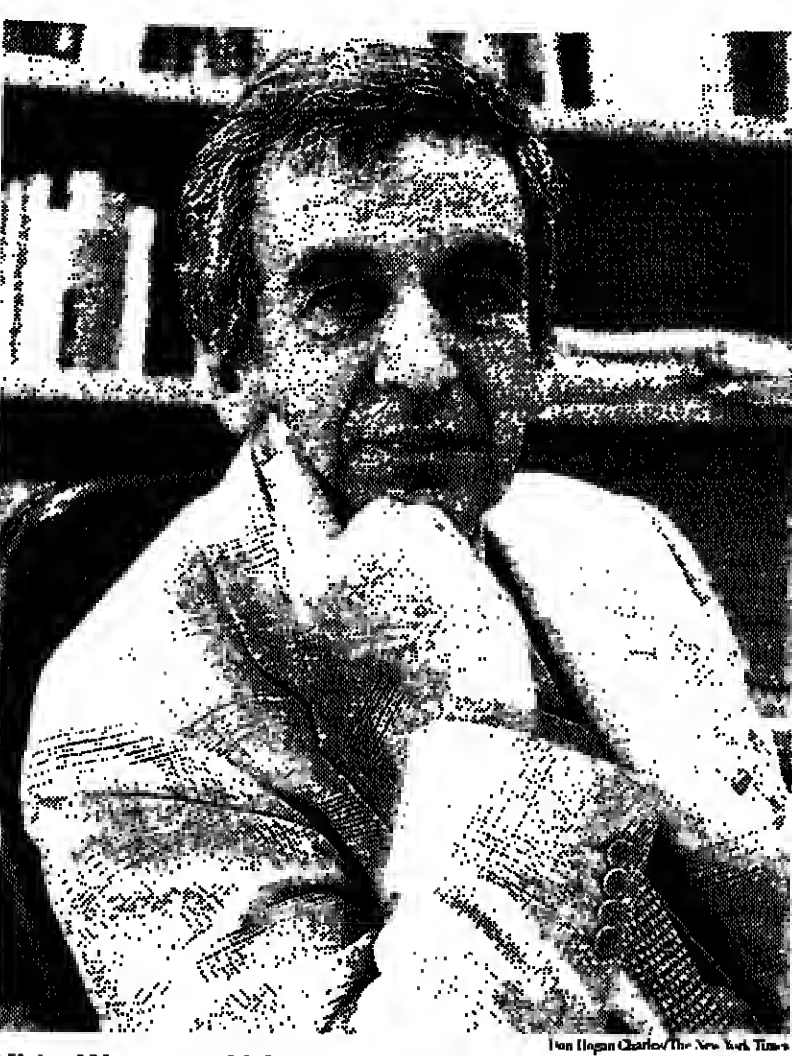
When his reclusive marquee author, Thomas Pynchon, failed to electrify the National Book Awards judges with the prose of "Mason & Dixon," Mr. Naumann coped with culture shock by boycotting the annual awards ceremony and mockingly declaring his pride in the label "sore loser."

And when a popular author, Gloria Naylor, failed to dazzle Mr. Naumann with her latest manuscript — a follow-up to her best-seller "The Women of Brewster Place" — Mr. Naumann canceled her contract for an advance estimated at more than \$900,000, and a rival house snapped up the author three days later. This rare move inspired two not necessarily competing theories: that Mr. Naumann had boldly scorned the work as substandard or that Henry Holt had financial difficulties.

"I had hoped for a less tempestuous time," Mr. Naumann, 56, said of his shift to New York from the more genteel world of German publishing, where for 10 years he headed one of the largest publishing firms, Rowohlt Verlag. "Coming here has been like graduating from a little day sailor to a 30-foot sloop and, alas, running into the perfect storm."

These have been tumultuous times for Mr. Naumann, partly because of the general climate over the last two years for the industry, which has struggled with a downturn in sales of hard-cover books and heavy returns of unsold copies from booksellers.

But Mr. Naumann also has sought to raise the profile of the thoroughly respectable publishing house with high-priced contracts for such prominent authors as Salman Rushdie and through his own blunt candor, which has occasionally ruffled some rival American book publishers and caused former employees to complain that he does not understand his adopted culture, given his spending levels and sales history.



Michael Naumann, chief executive of the Henry Holt publishing house.

In some respects, he is one of the most visible literary ambassadors of the other Germans in American publishing, Verlagsgruppe Georg von Holtzbrinck, the media conglomerate that has been vastly overshadowed by Bertelsmann's recent purchase of Random House. But this is a diplomat who doesn't mince his English.

"In America, publishers could be five feet under water and people would pretend that they're breathing freely," Mr. Naumann said of other publishers whom he characterizes as preferring to talk in polite fiction about the state of the industry.

Officially, Mr. Naumann became the chief executive of Henry Holt two years ago, although he arrived earlier to start an imprint for the company while commuting between posts in New York and Germany. But in the short time he has been here, it is striking how much the company has come to reflect him.

Mr. Naumann estimates that the 136-person staff has turned over by almost 75 percent, which is partly the result of revamping to focus on trade publishing, shedding divisions that published reference and computer

books. With his dark, round eyes and professorial spectacles, he has even come to look like the house mascot for the company's trade paperback line.

Henry Holt was founded in 1866 when New York was solidifying its position as the nation's publishing hub. Today it is one of three American publishing houses owned by the privately held Holtzbrinck.

In the words of the chairman, Dieter von Holtzbrinck, the corporation's American publishing houses are members of a "federalistic system" that encourages various publishers to compete against one another editorially even though the companies share back-office functions such as distribution in a new \$30 million warehouse in Gordonsville, Virginia.

But various publishers have interpreted their roles differently, and among the Holtzbrinck properties here — including Farrar, Straus & Giroux and St. Martin's Press — Henry Holt and its chief executive, Mr. Naumann, have adopted this philosophy with missionary zeal.

Occasionally, Mr. Naumann vies for the same writers at auctions that include other Holtzbrinck publishers. He also hired a former editor from Farrar Straus & Giroux, who wooed away several of its writers.

Such forays, not surprisingly, have led to some corporate tensions.

"The model of Holtzbrinck is the very opposite of Bertelsmann: no centralized decision-making," said Mr. Naumann, referring to the coordinated bidding for authors that takes place at Bertelsmann's Bantam Doubleday Dell unit.

But even in this federation of fierce independents, Holtzbrinck has made some tentative moves lately to coordinate strategy. In February, Mr. von Holtzbrinck appointed John Sargent, the chief executive of St. Martin's Press, to also manage the service company for the three houses and to develop trade publishing strategy. These moves — and his appointment to the boards of Farrar Straus and of Holt — gave him power to monitor finances, including Mr. Naumann's bottom line.

With estimated annual sales of \$45 million to \$50 million, Henry Holt has been losing money, although its net sales are reportedly rising and its av-

See HOLT, Page 14

# Seoul Floats a Plan To Buoy Weak Firms

But World Bank Rejects Such Use of Its Funds

**By Don Kirk**  
*International Herald Tribune*

**SEOUL** — South Korea, brushing aside objections by the World Bank, said Tuesday it would press ahead with plans to buttress the country's hard-pressed *chaebol*, or conglomerates, with funds from the bank.

Finance Minister Lee Kyu Sung pleaded in public, as well as in private conversations, with World Bank officials for the bank to approve the use of several billion dollars from the bank for special funds to reduce the mounting debts of the *chaebol*.

Arguing that Korea's "current corporate debt is simply not sustainable," Mr. Lee said the government planned to set up two such funds worth a total of 10 trillion won (\$7.23 billion) with the help of "multilateral and bilateral donors."

The World Bank, which has advanced about \$5 billion of a rescue package of nearly \$60 billion arranged by the International Monetary Fund in December, repeated its opposition to using World Bank funds for that purpose. The Seoul government and World Bank officials thus appeared to be on a collision course over the issue.

"We haven't contributed to such funds ever before," said S.I. Ayer, the World Bank's representative here. He noted that the World Bank president, James Wolfensohn, had told Korean officials in Washington that he did not want "public funds used for bailing out industries."

Mr. Lee, questioned by reporters in Seoul, acknowledged that "there has been some kind of miscommunication between the World Bank and Korea" but said he hoped it could be resolved eventually. He said he and his aides had explained to the bank that "we want to use that money in the funds to facilitate restructuring" hard-pressed industries.

None of those benefiting from the funds, he said, would be among the "big five" *chaebol*, which include the Hyundai, Samsung, Daewoo, LG and SK groups.

To many observers, however, the plan represented a departure from the agreement worked out between the IMF and the Korean government under which money-losing companies and fi-

nancial institutions would have to reform or fail amid the restructuring of an entire economy mired in debts estimated at several hundred billion dollars.

Behind the plan, analysts believed, was the inability of many Korean companies so far to attract the foreign loans and investment they need to survive.

"If Korean companies are an attractive investment, the market should be allowed to allocate that money appropriately," said Richard Samuelson, head of SB Warburg's office here. "Why does a fund have to be augmented in that way?"

Mr. Lee blamed high interest rates, demanded by the IMF to stabilize the economy, for having "threatened to push scores of economically viable companies into bankruptcy" while driving up unemployment. Since December, he said, an average of 2,000 firms have declared bankruptcy each month.

Defending the plan for establishing funds for investing in needy companies, Mr. Lee predicted "an immediate response from private investors." One fund would provide "equity participation" in companies, he said, while the other would convert short-term into long-term debt.

"I am well aware that questions have been raised as to whether these funds constitute a government bailout of troubled corporations," Mr. Lee said. "My answer is an unequivocal 'no.'"

He said that the funds would be "subject to strict accounting reviews," would not be available to insolvent companies, and would be managed independently from the government by "an internationally respected financial institution." Mr. Lee suggested the World Bank's International Finance Corp. as a possible fund manager, but Mr. Ayer said the corporation was "our private sector arm" with authority to lend "only to private companies."

Mr. Ayer said the International Finance Corp. had discussed the possibilities for setting up "a venture capital fund" entirely separate from the government-sponsored funds proposed by Mr. Lee.

"The IFC is talking about a completely private fund," Mr. Ayer emphasized. "The whole purpose is to mobilize private capital."

# EU Will Drop Suit on U.S. Sanctions

**By David E. Sanger**  
*New York Times Service*

**WASHINGTON** — The European Union is dropping its legal challenge to America's Helms-Burton Act, which imposes penalties on companies using formerly U.S.-owned properties in Cuba that were seized by the Castro government 30 or more years ago.

The decision to allow the case before the World Trade Organization to lapse is a major step toward defusing a dispute that has troubled trans-Atlantic relations for more than two years.

But European and U.S. officials cautioned that they were still far from a final settlement of the dispute and said that if talks should break down, the EU could file a new action.

"This is certainly a sign that we have

not given up on a negotiated solution, that we think a solution is possible," Hugo Paemen, the EU's ambassador to the United States, said Monday.

But the chief U.S. negotiator, Stuart Eizenstat, the undersecretary of state for economic affairs, said that while the United States welcomed Europe's decision, "we are a long way from being home."

Mr. Eizenstat insisted that dropping the formal legal action was not part of a quiet deal to weaken the law, although President Bill Clinton has regularly waived some of its toughest provisions while the talks continued.

The Helms-Burton Act, in part, calls for economic sanctions against non-U.S. companies that invest in or use any of the billions of dollars of U.S. properties — from phone systems to hotels

to mines — that Fidel Castro seized after the Cuban revolution.

The EU was outraged by the 1996 legislation, saying that "secondary boycotts," or boycotts against non-U.S. companies for business done outside the United States, violated trade treaties. They brought the case to press their point.

But almost as soon as the papers were filed, both sides acted to avoid a trial. Some European and U.S. officials were afraid that the case could destroy the authority of the fledgling trade court, forcing it to rule on an issue that the United States insisted had to do with national security, not trade barriers.

But the EU members did not want to drop the action, because the threat of pursuing the case was the best leverage they had with the United States.

# Paris Vows to Stand by Credit Lyonnais

*Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches*

**PARIS** — Credit Lyonnais, the troubled French bank, is clearly on a recovery path, and any suggestion of bankruptcy is "obviously out of the question," Finance Minister Dominique Strauss-Kahn of France said Tuesday.

Mr. Strauss-Kahn's comments came a day after European antitrust authorities said they would consider blocking government aid to the bank unless officials made more concessions on divestments and privatization.

Tension between France and the European Commission has mounted as Paris, which owns 82 percent of the bank, increased payments to Credit Lyonnais. The commission estimates that France has provided 135 billion francs (\$22.28 billion) to 190 billion francs in aid, although the French government says the commission has exaggerated the scale of the bailout.

The commission has given France until May 1 to propose Credit Lyonnais asset sales as a condition for the bailout. If the government refuses to sell more assets, the commission could order Credit Lyonnais to repay aid it received from the state since 1995, when a first bailout plan was cleared.

Mr. Strauss-Kahn said the bank had clearly recovered since 1995 "and the state will support this recovery as far as necessary using all the appropriate means." He added that a "balanced solution" to the dispute with the commission was possible.

If Credit Lyonnais must repay even part of the aid, it would be difficult for the bank to be profitable, analysts said.

Investment certificates in Credit Lyonnais, which carry no voting rights, fell sharply on the Paris Bourse, finishing Tuesday at 605 francs, down 27.

(Reuters, Bloomberg)

CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES									
April 21									
Cross Rates									
	\$	£	DM	¥	₹	₪	₹	₹	₹
Australia	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Canada	0.71	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
France	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Germany	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Italy	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Japan	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Spain	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Switzerland	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
UK	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
US	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Libor-Libor Rates									
	1-month	3-month	6-month	9-month	12-month	18-month	24-month	36-month	48-month
US	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
UK	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
DM	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
¥	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₪	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
Key Money Rates									
	1-month	3-month	6-month	9-month	12-month	18-month	24-month	36-month	48-month
US	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
UK	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
DM	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
¥	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₪	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
Other Dollar Values									
	Per \$	Per £	Per DM	Per ¥	Per ₹	Per ₪	Per ₹	Per ₹	Per ₹
Australia	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Canada	0.71	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
France	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Germany	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Italy	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Japan	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Spain	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Switzerland	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
UK	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
US	0.65	1.37	1.39	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08
Forward Rates									
	30-day	60-day	90-day	180-day	360-day	540-day	720-day	900-day	1080-day
US	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
UK	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
DM	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
¥	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₪	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50
₹	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50	5.50

## Global Private Banking

# ORDINARY SERVICE MEETS CLIENT NEEDS. EXCEPTIONAL SERVICE ANTICIPATES THEM.

At Republic we take service very seriously. We not only respond to client orders, we aim to anticipate client needs... to prepare the way in advance.

We do this mainly by building close and enduring relationships. In the process, we gain clear insight into our clients' financial goals and keep these constantly in mind as we look after their interests.

Our advanced operating systems, too, are fully geared to this idea of exceptional service. They help us respond to investment opportunities with uncommon speed, and carry out client instructions to the letter.

It is this forward-looking approach, together with a genuine sense of commitment toward our clients, that makes Republic a truly one-of-a-kind bank.

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Republic National Bank of New York, 1998



2000



## EUROPE

# Finance Ministers Give Euro Confidence Push

## But Central Bank Feud Remains Unresolved

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LUXEMBOURG — The European Union moved a step closer to monetary union Tuesday but was no nearer to deciding who should be the key figure driving economic policy.

EU finance ministers, seeking to increase confidence in the common currency, agreed in principle to control their budget deficits and reduce debts after the currency is started Jan. 1. EU finance ministers were seen sending a message to those worried that Europe's new single currency, the euro, may be weaker than the domestic currencies it will replace. In Germany, for instance, recent polls show more than half of the electorate oppose the 1999 introduction of the euro.

Finance Minister Theo Waigel of Germany said the German-led proposals to restrain debt and deficits were "positively received" by the finance ministers, who met in Luxembourg. Mr. Waigel said he was confident EU leaders would adopt the pact when they select 11 nations to begin the monetary union on May 2. The 11 nations expected to start

the euro are Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Finland, Ireland, Spain and Portugal. Britain, Denmark and Sweden plan to stay out for the time being, while a fourth, Greece, missed the economic requirements.

Mr. Waigel's plan, put forward last month in York, England, called for the euro nations to behave from May as if a "stability pact" imposing sanctions for fiscal misdeeds were already in place. The pact actually takes effect in January.

The proposal calls on euro governments with heavy debt, such as Italy and Belgium, to generate budget surpluses and to shift from short- to long-term borrowing to reduce debt costs and provide stable financing.

The ministers also adopted plans to reallocate 450 million European Currency Units (\$493 million) from the EU budget over three years to help fund businesses' job-boosting investment plans.

The British chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, the chairman of the meeting, said the deci-



Finance Minister Theo Waigel of Germany, left, speaking with Gordon Brown, the chancellor of the Exchequer, on Tuesday.

laration combined "a strategy for achieving stability with a commitment to structural reform" to promote growth and employment in Europe. The declaration will be redrafted by the EU monetary committee on Thursday before being sent to the EU summit meeting. Finance Minister Philippe Maystadt of Belgium said.

But there was no sign of agreement over who would be chosen as

president of the European central bank, the EU's top monetary job.

In Frankfurt, Edgar Meister, a Bundesbank directorate member, said an agreement on who should head the central bank was vital to establish the euro's credibility.

"Everything, absolutely everything, must be done to ensure a decision is made, particularly on the presidency, by May 2," he said.

(Reuters, Bloomberg)

# Robust Demand Sent SAP's Profit Up 72% in 1st Period

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

FRANKFURT — SAP AG said Tuesday that robust demand and favorable currency movements sparked a 72 percent jump in its pretax profit in the first quarter.

The German software maker said pretax profit climbed to 311 million Deutsche marks (\$172.7 million) from 181 million DM a year earlier as sales rose to 1.68 billion DM from 1.03 billion DM.

Sales of SAP's R/3 business-management software have soared amid demand for features that help computers overcome the so-called millennium bug and the planned change by 11 European countries to a single currency next year. Although demand is expected to slow as those milestones pass, analysts say efforts to tailor R/3 to specific industries and introduce new products make SAP attractive.

SAP shares rose 6 DM on Tuesday to close at 941.

The company said it expected sales for the full year to rise by 30 percent or 35 percent.

"The strong sales rise in the first quarter is not an indication for the course of business in the full year," said Henning Kagermann, a managing board member.

But analysts said that forecast was too conservative. "I don't understand that," said Michael Schatzschneider at BHF Bank. "To hit the 30 to 35 percent level, they would have to have really low fourth-quarter growth, and I can't see that happening."

SAP said favorable exchange rates added five percentage points to sales growth and two percentage points to profit growth in the first three months of 1998.

SAP's payroll expanded to 15,010 employees during the quarter from 10,055 on March 31, 1997.

The Americas remained SAP's largest business unit, with first-

quarter sales there rising 68 percent, to 749 million DM. German sales

rose 53 percent, to 352 million DM, while sales in the rest of Europe grew 75 percent, to 385 million DM. In the Asia-Pacific region, sales gained 67 percent, to 179 million DM.

"SAP is one of the few compa-

nies that has the growth potential to match its share price right now,"

said Christoph Brunz, a fund manager with Union Investment in Frankfurt. "One should always hold on to SAP shares — this is the growth industry in Germany right now."

(Reuters, Bloomberg)

# Chocolate Cravings Feed Cocoa Price

Bloomberg News

LONDON — Cocoa prices climbed after Barry Callebaut SA of Switzerland, the world's largest cocoa processor, said Tuesday it had bought "a major part" of Phibro Commodities' cocoa stockpile to meet surging demand for chocolate.

The cocoa stockpile owned by Phibro, which Travelers Group Inc. acquired when it bought Sa-

lomom Smith Barney Inc. in late November, has been estimated by analysts at about 400,000 tons, or one-third of annual global cocoa production. Phibro has declined to disclose the size of the stockpile.

Cocoa for July delivery, the most active contract, rose £28 \$470, or 2.7 percent, to close at \$1,081 a metric ton on the London International Financial Futures and Options Exchange.

(AP, Reuters, Bloomberg)

# Debt in Asia And Weakness In Music Sales Hit Polygram

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

AMSTERDAM — PolyGram NV said Tuesday its first-quarter profit plunged 83 percent because of a lack of major releases at its pop-music division and increased provisions for bad debts in Asia.

Profit at PolyGram, whose recording artists range from established groups such as U2 to teenybopper acts such as Hanson, dropped to 15 million guilders (\$7.4 million) in the quarter from 122 million guilders a year earlier. Sales rose 4 percent, to 2.28 billion guilders.

The company attributed the drop in profit to a 6 percent fall in music sales. During the quarter, PolyGram only had four platinum-selling albums — by Andrea Bocelli and All Saints — compared with five last year.

The company cautioned last month that its first-quarter music sales and margins had suffered.

Profit from music also declined because the company raised its provisions for bad debts and returns in Asia, citing the "difficult trading environment in the region." PolyGram made 16 percent of its sales in Asia in 1997. Overall, sales in Asia fell 22 percent in the first quarter.

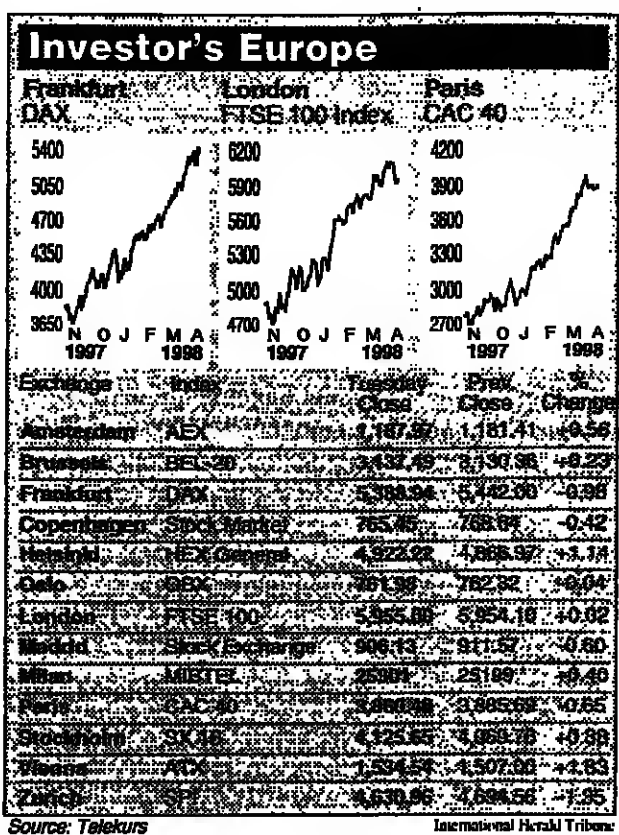
Operating income in the music division dropped to 90 million guilders from 251 million guilders a year earlier.

PolyGram expects an improved performance in the music division, particularly in the second half of 1998, said Alain Levy, the company's president. For the rest of the year, music releases are expected to include works from Boyzone, Sheryl Crow, the Cranberries, the Cardigans and Hanson.

Films remained unprofitable but showed a better performance than a year earlier, helped by hit films such as "The Big Lebowski" and video releases such as "The Game" and "Bean." The film unit reported an operating loss of 49 million guilders, narrowed from 55 million guilders. Sales rose 64 percent, to 480 million guilders.

PolyGram's shares closed unchanged at 87 guilders.

(AP, Reuters, Bloomberg)



# Very briefly:

• The International Monetary Fund made "substantial progress" toward a large loan, believed to be a three-year, \$2.5 billion deal, for Ukraine but plans to await action on reforms before it hands out the money.

• The Paris Bourse signed a deal with Citibank to begin selling European depositary receipts, similar to American depositary receipts, offering non-European companies, particularly those in emerging markets, a listing on the Bourse.

• MEPC PLC, Britain's third-largest real-estate company, sold its eight U.S. shopping malls to General Growth Properties Inc. for \$871 million as it pursues a plan to focus on British investment properties.

• Sweden's transport and communications minister, Ines Uusmann, said the country should have sought to join Europe's economic and monetary union at its planned beginning next year because of its dependence on exports. He said the government's decision to not participate initially could cost Sweden jobs.

• Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda plan to present their budgets on the same day, June 11, to facilitate harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies. The countries are united in the East African Cooperation, which aims at integrating their economies.

• SmithKline Beecham PLC's first-quarter earnings rose 9 percent, to £319 million (\$526 million), as strong drug sales offset the effects of the strong pound and higher research and development costs. Revenue rose 3 percent, to £1.89 billion.

• Argos PLC shareholders Baillie Gifford & Co. and Prudential Corp. plan to vote against a £1.9 billion bid for the British catalog retailer by Great Universal Stores PLC.

• Enron Corp. is "very close" to an agreement with state-owned Qatar General Petroleum Corp. on a venture to build a \$4 billion liquefied natural-gas plant in the Gulf state.

(AP, Bloomberg, Reuters)

# WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Tuesday, April 21

Prices in local currencies.

Tel Aviv

High Low Close Prev.

Amsterdam

ASEX Index: 1167.97

Previous: 1171.41

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**Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close**

(Continued)

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div Yld	PE	52 Week High	Low	Unlisted	Change
229	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
230	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
231	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
232	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
233	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
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238	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
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255	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
256	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
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266	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
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329	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
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356	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
357	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
358	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
359	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
360	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
361	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
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363	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
364	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
365	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
366	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
367	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
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374	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
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376	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
377	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
378	17	16	Comcast	4.0	15.3	130	125	100	100
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**Arco's Associate**

Arco's associate, the American Petroleum Institute, has announced that it will not support the proposed legislation. The institute's position is based on the fact that the proposed legislation would require the government to purchase oil from private producers at a price that is not in the public interest. The institute also points out that the proposed legislation would require the government to purchase oil from private producers at a price that is not in the public interest.

**Redores Win, but C**

The Redores family, who have been in the oil business for many years, have won a major victory in the recent election. The family's candidate, Mr. Redore, has been elected to the office of Governor of the state. This is a significant achievement for the family, as it marks the first time that a member of the family has been elected to such a high office.

**Exports Sag on**

The export of oil from the United States has sagged in recent months. This is due to a number of factors, including a decline in demand for oil from foreign countries and a decline in the price of oil. The sag in exports has caused concern among oil producers and exporters, who are worried that it will lead to a decline in revenue.

WSE



ASIA/PACIFIC

# Marcos Associate Regains Stake in San Miguel

**MANILA** — A top business associate of the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos regained a minority stake Tuesday in the Philippines' biggest food and beverage conglomerate after a heated election that crowned a 12-year legal battle.

The industrialist, Eduardo Cojuangco, made his comeback to San Miguel Corp. in a day of drama that began when the Supreme Court rebuffed a government attempt to keep him out and ended in a shouting match during a shareholders' meeting. The meeting ended with Mr. Cojuangco winning the right to place three representatives on the 15-member board, representing Mr. Cojuangco's 20 percent stake.

Manila seized Mr. Cojuangco's shares in 1986 on suspicion they were part of Mr. Marcos' ill-gotten wealth after a popular revolt ousted the dictator and drove him and Mr. Cojuangco into exile. The government also seized another 27 percent stake held by Mr. Marcos or his associates.

Mr. Cojuangco's chief lawyer and one of his nominees to the board, Estelito Mendoza, said he

did not expect any major changes in the corporate structure but broadly hinted that there might be. "It is premature to talk of any plans we have on any changes," Mr. Mendoza said. "We are but a small minority."

The San Miguel chairman, Andres Soriano 3d, said management and government officials now recognized that resolving the issue of the seized shares was in the best interests of the company.

The legal tussle over those shares has prevented San Miguel from selling additional stock, forcing it to rely on debt to finance its expansion. Soaring debt contributed to a sharp fall in profit in 1997.

"Continued sequestration creates a competitive disadvantage for San Miguel and in the long run will penalize its shareholders," Mr. Soriano said.

The board shakeup could be the beginning of the end for Mr. Soriano's chairmanship of San Miguel, which his forefathers built into one of the best-known Philippine companies.

The government, which has backed Mr. Soriano, now only holds seven seats on the board —

short of the majority it had enjoyed.

"The desecration we so deeply desire will effectively mean a change in ownership and control one way or another," Mr. Soriano said.

Mr. Cojuangco's entry could lead to a management wrangle and "stall strategic changes in San Miguel," such as moves to cut costs in its food businesses and continue expanding overseas, said Raul Perez, analyst at Sapphire Securities Inc. Mr. Mendoza specifically questioned the board's focus on expanding San Miguel's operations overseas.

"The present management took the view that it was in the interest of San Miguel to go international," Mr. Mendoza said. "Up to now, it is not breaking even in these investments. So probably, it's time to look at the situation and decide whether San Miguel should contract, continue to pursue this, or modify this effort."

On Tuesday, San Miguel's class A shares, reserved for Filipinos, rose 0.50 peso, to close at 41 pesos (\$1.08), while its class B shares which foreigners can own, rose 1.50 pesos, to 69 pesos.

(Reuters, Bloomberg)

# Jakarta Lifts Rates in Bid To Bolster Its Economy

**JAKARTA** — The government raised key interest rates to as much as 50 percent Tuesday, on the eve of a deadline for implementing a series of reform efforts agreed to with the International Monetary Fund to help the country's battered economy.

The second rate increase in less than a month lifted the rupiah briefly, sending the dollar down to 7,835 rupiah from 8,100 rupiah Monday.

Bank Indonesia, the central bank, raised the rate on benchmark one-month SBI government bills to 50 percent from 45 percent and the rate on one-week SBI bills to 48 percent from 43 percent.

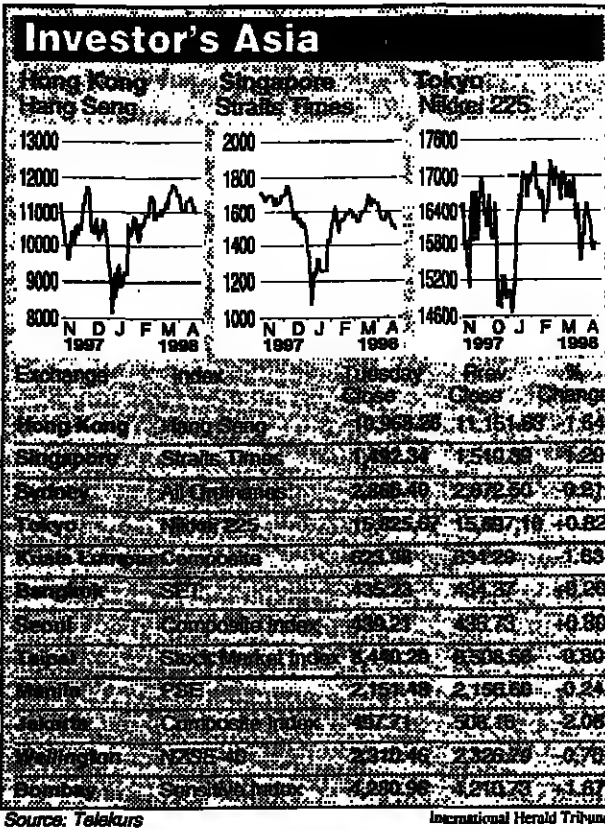
"If necessary, we'll raise rates again," Bank Indonesia's governor, Sjahril Sabirin, said. He said an exchange rate of 7,000 rupiah to the dollar was "good."

The rate increase was in line with policies pushed by the IMF, which is considering resuming payments from a \$43 billion aid plan for the country. But the higher rates threaten to bring more pain for the country's overextended companies, put more banks out of business, raise unemployment and fuel social unrest in the world's fourth most populous country.

Even with the high rates, "you are still not beating inflation," which may reach 100 percent by the end of the year, said Ascanio Martinotti, managing director of private equity for Hong Kong-based Regent Pacific Group Ltd.

Those concerns pulled the Jakarta Composite Index down 2.1 percent, or 10.45 points, to close at 497.71.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)



# Stevedores Win, but Court in Sydney Delays Rehiring

**SYDNEY** — Dock workers who have been blockading ports nationwide erupted in cheers Tuesday after a Federal Court judge ruled that a stevedore company had acted illegally when it fired all 1,400 of its union employees. But the full Federal Court later granted the company a 24-hour stay of the order so an appeal could be heard.

Justice Anthony North ordered Lang Corp.'s Patrick Stevedore unit

to rehire all of the Maritime Union of Australia workers that it had dismissed and evicted from ports on April 7. The company contended that union stevedores were too expensive and inefficient.

Lawyers for Patrick Stevedore were to appeal the order to the full bench of the Federal Court on Wednesday.

After the dismissals, the union established picket lines at Patrick's terminals at major ports, principally

in Sydney, Melbourne, Perth and Brisbane. The union and its sympathizers have largely succeeded in preventing trucks and trains from loading and unloading cargo containers handled by nonunion replacements.

Justice North agreed with the union's contention that the dismissals had been carried out solely to rid Patrick of union labor.

"There is an arguable case that the Patrick owners and Patrick em-

ployers have engaged in an unlawful conspiracy," the justice said. He also said he had taken into consideration a union offer that its members would work without pay while the dispute was being resolved.

Trading in shares of Lang Corp. was suspended Tuesday after the ruling.

Meanwhile, farmers threatened Tuesday to break the blockade. "We have people in Western Australia who need fertilizer and chemicals off the wharves so they can get their cropping programs going," said Don McGonchie, the president of the National Farmers Federation. "Those people are prepared to go and load their own trucks."

Prime Minister John Howard said he sympathized with the farmers, but he urged them to abide by the law.

## Very briefly:

- China will end its system of state housing allocations July 1 as part of its effort to scrap its socialist housing system and create a commercial residential market.
- China's foreign-exchange reserves, the world's second-largest after Japan's, grew \$730 million in the first three months of the year, to \$140.6 billion.
- China Telecom (Hong Kong) Ltd., the Hong Kong-listed arm of the state-run phone company, will buy a 1.6 percent stake in Globalstar Telecommunications Ltd. for \$37.5 million. Globalstar is a U.S.-based company that is building a worldwide satellite-based mobile telephone system.
- All Nippon Airways Co. formally signed a code-sharing agreement with United Airlines and Deutsche Lufthansa AG. The deal will allow the airlines to use the same flight numbers on selected routes and will link their frequent-flyer programs.
- Mitsubishi Trust & Banking Corp. lowered its group pretax profit estimate by 20 percent, to 24 billion yen (\$181.6 million), for the year that ended March 31 because of an increase in write-offs for bad loans. Mitsui Trust & Banking Co. also cut its profit expectations.
- Takashimaya Co. and Matsuzakaya Co., two major Japanese department-store companies, said their profits were badly hit by the economic slump in Japan. Takashimaya's parent pretax profit fell 26 percent, to 11.7 billion yen, in the year that ended in February as revenue slipped 0.2 percent, to 1.09 trillion yen. Matsuzakaya's profit dropped 58 percent, to 2.3 billion yen, as revenue fell 3 percent, to 422 billion yen.
- Mitsubishi Motors Corp.'s March domestic vehicle production fell 22 percent from a year earlier, to 102,512 units. Exports rose 10 percent in the month, to 56,156 units, the first gain in two months on a year-on-year basis. Domestic sales fell 25 percent from a year earlier, to 95,958 units.
- Toho Co., a Japanese movie distributor, said parent pretax profit rose 9.5 percent, to a record 11.44 billion yen, in the year that ended Feb. 28, helped by the success of its Japanese animated film "The Princess Mononoke."

# Taiwan Exports Sag on Weak Asia Demand

**TAIPEI** — Manufacturers' orders from abroad fell in March and in the first quarter, the government reported Tuesday, as slowing growth across Asia slowed demand.

Export orders fell 2.6 percent in March from a year earlier, the government said. Orders from the rest of Asia — which typically account for about two-fifths of the island's export market — fell 17 percent.

For March, export orders totaled \$10.19 billion. That left orders for the first quarter at \$28.27 billion, down 2.7 percent from the first quarter of 1997.

"There are too many shadows to see how much more the turmoil will

hurt us," said Chang Yaw-tzong, a government economist.

The benchmark Taipei Stock Market Index fell 68.36 points, or 0.8 percent, to 8,440.20, its lowest level since February, as concern spread that earnings growth would slow at Advanced Semiconductor Co. and other blue-chip companies in Taiwan's computer and technology industries.

The latest figures show how much recessions in South Korea, Indonesia and Thailand — coupled with slowing growth in Japan, the region's largest economy — are squeezing Taiwan.

Taiwan's exporters are having trouble competing with rivals from South Korea and other Asian coun-

tries whose currencies have weakened in the past year. Orders for Taiwan-made machinery and textiles fell 22 percent last month.

With exports slowing, Taiwan's government may have difficulty hitting its growth target this year. Some analysts forecast that the government would cut its target to less than 5.8 percent from its current projection of 6.18 percent.

Still, orders rose in the island's technology industry, which includes companies such as Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Co. and Acer Inc.

In March, orders for computer-related and telecommunications products rose 7.1 percent, to \$3.34 billion, the government said.

# Japan Carmakers Ship More Abroad

**TOKYO** — Two of Japan's biggest carmakers cut domestic output in March and shipped more cars and trucks to Europe and the United States to counter plunging sales in Asia, reports released Tuesday showed.

Toyota Motor Corp., Japan's largest automaker, cut production in Japan by 1.5 percent in March

as exports to Asia fell by half and sales in Japan dived almost a quarter. Exports to Europe rose 38.7 percent and those to the United States rose 13.4 percent.

Nissan Motor Co., Japan's second-biggest carmaker, cut output in Japan by 15 percent, but Honda Motor Co., the third-biggest, reported that production for the month rose 5.8 percent.

NYSE									
Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close									
(Continued)									
12 Month	High	Low	100 High	Low	100 High	Low	100 High	Low	100 High
2000	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2001	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2002	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2003	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2004	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2005	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2006	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2007	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2008	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2009	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2010	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2011	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2012	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2013	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2014	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2015	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2016	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2017	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2018	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2019	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2020	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2021	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2022	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
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2025	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
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**April 21, 1998**

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10 Effective new study questions for your tutorials by E.Hall, published on 6 Feb 2015 at 11:00 AM

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**WORLD ROUNDUP****Bologna in Final**

**BASKETBALL** Kinder Bologna overpowered Partizan Belgrade, 83-61, Tuesday to reach the championship final of the European club Final Four in Barcelona.

Kinder shot 75 percent in the first half against the youngest of the four semifinalists and led, 45-25, at the interval. Zoran Savic, Kinder's Yugoslav center, led all scorers with 23 points. He scored 12 of his team's first 14 points.

Police were involved in clashes with two sets of fans. The first disturbance just before the start of the game involved a contingent of about 100 Partizan supporters.

Midway through the first half police clashed with a much larger set of AEK Athens fans waiting for their club's semifinal later in the evening against Benetton Treviso. (Reuters AP)

**Carolina Can Have Gilbert**

**FOOTBALL** The Washington Redskins on Tuesday cleared the way for the Carolina Panthers to acquire Sean Gilbert and make him the highest paid defender in the National Football League.

Gilbert, who sat out the entire 1997 season in a salary dispute with the Redskins, signed an offer sheet from Carolina on Monday for a seven-year contract worth \$46.5 million. The Redskins notified the Panthers and the league office on Tuesday that they would not attempt to match the offer.

Washington will receive two first-round draft choices from the Panthers for Gilbert, the third overall selection in the 1992 draft. Washington gave up one first-round pick to acquire Gilbert from the St. Louis Rams in 1996. (AP)

**Bierhoff Heads for Milan**

**SOCCER** Oliver Bierhoff, a German international striker, said Tuesday that he was leaving Udinese and moving to AC Milan, another team in Italy's Serie A.

Bierhoff, 29, has scored 99 goals in the Italian League. This season he has scored 21, second only to Ronaldo of Inter Milan. (AFP)

**Bugner Is Robbed**

**BOXING** Thieves ransacked the home of Joe Bugner on Monday while the boxer was successfully defending his Australian heavyweight title.

Bugner said the robbers must have waited for him and his wife to leave for the well-publicized fight before moving in. "The mongrels must have been watching me leave and then Marlene leave before climbing in through the laundry window," he said. (AFP)

**Drexler Willing to Wait**

**BASKETBALL** Clyde Drexler, the Houston Rockets guard, will coach the University of Houston men's basketball team next season.

Michael Jordan asked him if there is anything he can do to help him in his new job. Said Drexler: "Send me your kids." (LAT)

**An Odd French Twist To England's Coach**  
**Hoddle Praises Wenger and a 'Healer'**

By Rob Hughes  
International Herald Tribune

**LONDON** — Maybe the waters between France and England run more shallow than we think.

As England's Premier League season enters its final month, there is every reason to salute a French coach who, by

trusting in his countrymen and implanting them one by one into the Arsenal team, is close to winning the two major prizes of English soccer.

Needless to say, because the English have been so sure for so long that nobody could teach them soccer, Arsene Wenger, the Arsenal coach, is an unusual man.

Arguably more unusual still is Glenn Hoddle, once the overlooked talent of the England national team. Hoddle went to France to express himself as a player. In Monaco, while Hoddle nursed himself back from a serious knee injury, the seeds were sown in his mind that the ways of Wenger, then the Monaco coach, were more thorough, more serious, more enlightened than the English game of kick and rush.

Now, Hoddle has risen to become coach of the England national team. On Monday, seated before 150 journalists, Hoddle both praised his mentor and spoke with a missionary zeal that scared some of his audience. It would, he said, be foolish to eschew the ways of Wenger, which have this season elevated Arsenal above even Manchester United.

No one argued, though perhaps they should. For the holistic method of stop-watch training, of diet, of medicine and of correct habits and lifestyle, are working so convincingly in an Arsenal squad which, from midfield forwards, has scant drops of English blood. Wenger acknowledged when he arrived in 1996 that Arsenal had a Bulldog spirit left to him by the former trainer.

To his credit, the Frenchman did not try to tear that apart, nor to impose his will too quickly. I guess in France, too, they say if it ain't broke, don't fix it.

However, import by import, Wenger built toward a future that is not so much cosmopolitan as Franco-Dutch. Six of his own players are from France, and the gifted duo of Patrick Vieira and Emmanuel Petit form the most volatile, most imaginative core to any English side.

Wenger inherited Dennis Bergkamp, the Dutchman whose sharp brain and technique have made him England's player of the year. The coach then paid £7 million (\$11.7 million) for Marc Overmars, a Dutch winger. Wenger was mocked. Overmars was a crock and everyone knew it. Except it was Wenger's way, with Hoddle, to nurse a precious talent back to greatness, and he has delivered Overmars to the Dutch in fine fettle for the World Cup.

Maybe Hoddle wishes his old friend had not done this. For what if the Dutch meet the English in the World Cup, and Overmars, Bergkamp and Ronald De Boer — who may well be another Arsenal recruit this summer — torment England as they have before? What if, by tampering with the World Cup just 50 days and nights away, Hoddle reduces England's strengths?

Rhetorical questions, maybe. But there is more, and it runs deeper than changing a sportsman's physical preparation. For

**World Cup Tickets Go on Sale by Phone**

Agence France-Presse  
**PARIS** — The World Cup organizers start selling 110,000 tickets by telephone Wednesday at 8 A.M. (0600 GMT).

Tickets are for the first round (except for the opener between Brazil and Scotland) and second round. Callers are limited to four tickets a match and 16 in total.

The telephone numbers are: Inside France: 08 03 00 19 98, Outside France: 00 33 1 49 87 53 54.

Hoddle is a believer in the power of God and in the values of faith healing.

Imagine either the zealotry, or the sheer courage, of this comparatively young English coach announcing to the media that a woman called Eileen Drewery had "seen" three quarters of his chosen England players and, whether in the mind or the body, had dispensed the Lord's healing powers to some of them. She had, Hoddle claimed, saved the careers of two players at Swindon Town, the first club he coached.

She has counseled Paul Gascoigne, the Hoddle of his time in that he is blessed with skills beyond English contemporaries. She had helped Ian Wright dampen some of the fire of his ill temper. Sadly, miracles are beyond her oom, and neither Gascoigne nor Wright is likely to take the field in Wednesday's friendly match at Wembley against Portugal.

Mrs. Drewery has taken up the post of resident healer at the team hotel and will carry on her work in weeks leading to the June 10 start of the World Cup.

"If you ridicule it," contends Hoddle, "then you have a closed mind. Keep your minds open, go and see her yourself."

Hoddle declines to countenance, possibly by closing his own mind, the thought that if some players adopt the faith and some are as skeptical, the lady of higher presence — in a male environment any female presence can become counterproductive.

There have been lewd jokes; Hoddle is above letting that deter him. There are thinly disguised reports of some players who perhaps shun alternative medicine falling in the selection order.

Wenger at Arsenal and Hoddle of England are opening minds to a better tactical approach, one that is preferable to England's way of belting the ball high and physically chasing down the opponents. England has bullied the French on soccer fields in times past; but now soccer is "coming home" in a way that no modern observer could quite anticipate.

Wenger will speak to a soccer convention Thursday at the Stade de France. His theme is Management of the Modern Day Millionaire Players. If time permits, he might recall that more than half a century ago Herbert Chapman, an Arsenal manager, regularly crossed the Channel to play, around every Armistice Day, an Arsenal versus Racing Paris fixture. He felt we could learn from one another.

Rob Hughes is sports correspondent of The Times of London



Thomas Muster losing to Carlos Moya in straight sets Tuesday in the first round of the Monte Carlo Open.

**Agassi Wins, but Next Is Sampras****55-Minute Rout of Martin Brings On Early Showdown in Monte Carlo**

**MONTE CARLO** — Andre Agassi routed Todd Martin, 6-2, 6-1, in 55 minutes Tuesday in the opening round of the Monte Carlo Open and faces Pete Sampras next.

"To play Pete so early in the tournament is unsettling," Agassi said. "He's the guy you always expect to play at the end of the tournament. Now my ranking is not so high and I have to play him early. I have to come ready to play. Obviously he's expecting a tough match. If I don't come out strong, I am going to have problems."

Agassi played just one match on clay last year, in Atlanta. He lost in the second round at the French Open two years ago, the last time he played on the slow surface in a European tournament. Martin had just won a tournament on

clay in Barcelona. Yet, Agassi, who has lost just four tournament matches this year, had an easy time against Martin.

"I just played well," Agassi said. He belted winners from the back of the court and was aided by 27 unforced errors by Martin.

Sampras lost the No. 1 ranking to Marcelo Rios after the Chilean beat Agassi in the Lipton final. But Rios is injured and not playing in Monte Carlo, and Sampras can regain the No. 1 ranking if he does well this week. He has to get past Agassi first.

"We're both used to playing each other on quicker courts where we know each other's game," Agassi said. "You know, it's not the best surface for him certainly."

Agassi, whose latest loss this year in a tournament was to Rios, said he was

surprised to see Rios gain the top ranking.

"Certainly he never seemed to me like he was No. 1 potential," he said. "But he's proved me wrong, and many other people."

Two former champions had different results in first-round matches Tuesday. Thomas Muster, a three-time winner and a former No. 1, lasted less than an hour, falling to the 14th-seeded Carlos Moya, 6-0, 6-3.

Muster was ranked 27th in the world. He was briefly ranked No. 1 in early 1996 but has not won a tournament in more than a year, since victory over the hard courts of the Lipton tournament.

Sergi Bruguera, twice a champion at Monte Carlo, advanced to the second round with a 6-1, 1-6, 7-5 victory over Jeff Tarango.

**Once Again, Bulls Are the Team to Beat**

**CHICAGO** — The odds makers like the Chicago Bulls a lot. Their coach likes their chances even better.

"We're better than we were last year going into the playoffs," said Phil Jackson, adding that his team in the 1995-96 season might have been sharper than this year's version.

Jackson gave his team a day off on Monday before his preparations began for the Bulls to make a run at a third consecutive championship, which would bring their second so-called three-peat of this decade.

The Bulls won consecutive titles in 1991, 1992 and 1993, and Jackson said that the '93 team "didn't look half as good as this team."

The odds makers agree. They've installed the Bulls as a 1-2 favorite to win the championship, as well as a 1-5 bet to capture the Eastern Conference title.

The best-of-five first-round series of the playoffs begin Thursday with four games: Atlanta at Charlotte, Cleveland at Indiana, Houston at Utah and San Antonio at Phoenix. Four more series begin Friday night: New Jersey at Chicago, New York at Miami, Minnesota at Seattle and Portland at Los Angeles.

The Bulls will have the homecourt advantage through the Eastern Conference finals, and the odds are against anyone beating them — at least until the finals. Chicago will be playing a Nets team that slumped over the second half of the season and didn't qualify for the playoffs until the 11th hour.

For most of the Nets, including Coach John Calipari, it will be their first playoff game. For Jordan, on the other hand, the match Friday night will be the 159th postseason contest of his career.

"The critical point is easy for these guys to focus on," Jackson said, referring to his team. "They are veterans who have been in playoffs, and they know a team has to beat you in a majority of games. That makes this team enormously confident to take on comers and beat them in a series. It's entirely different from the regular season."

From the East, the Pacers, Heat, Hawks and Knicks also bring a good degree of playoff experience into the first round, although flaws are apparent in each team.

In the West, there are three 60-victory clubs in Utah, Seattle and the Los Angeles Lakers. "And there's also two 56-win teams right behind us in Phoenix and San Antonio," said George Karl, coach of the SuperSonics. "I think everybody knows there are five teams that can come out of the West. Utah is the top dog, Seattle and L.A. are next, the other two are a step below us."

The Bulls have dominated the league over the past two seasons, going a combined 141-23 in the regular season and 30-7 in the postseason.

Their record dropped to 62-20 this year, the same mark as the defending Western Conference champions, the Utah Jazz. But the Bulls built their record playing through the distractions of Jordan threatening to retire, Scottie Pippen vowing to leave, Jackson finishing out a one-year contract and General Manager Jerry Krause trading Jason Caffey.

"This is really the time when guys who have that experience shine and look forward to it, polish up their game," Jackson said. "I don't know how easy it will be, but we'll let the West decide their neighborhood rivalry, we'll decide

ours and then we'll get on with the championship round."

Some of the other playoff teams made news Monday with roster moves.

The Knicks placed Patrick Ewing on the club's active roster even though they don't expect him to be ready for the first round. Chris Dudley, out with a broken foot since February, also was activated.

Calipari said he expected Jason Williams, the All-Star forward who has been out with a broken thumb, to play unless doctors determined that playing now could jeopardize his career.

Pat Riley left Brent Barry off the Heat's playoff roster, along with Antonio Lang and Rex Walters. Barry was acquired in the much-criticized trade for Isaac Austin, who was Miami's best backup center.

A hernia could keep Charles Barkley of the Rockets sidelined against the Jazz. "I know that I couldn't play today," Barkley said following practice on Monday. "Right now, I don't know how much help I'll be."

**Fitch Fired by L.A. Clippers**

The Los Angeles Clippers fired Coach Bill Fitch on Monday, two days after the team finished a disastrous 17-65 season, wire services reported from Los Angeles.

Elgin Baylor, the Clippers' vice president of basketball operations, said he planned to compile a list of candidates for the coaching job within a few days. Fitch, 63, coached the Clippers for four years, compiling a 99-229 record. Last season the team made the playoffs with a 36-46 mark.

The Clippers' record this year was the third worst in the NBA, behind only Denver and Toronto. (AP, LAT)

**Iran Hands Ivic His Ultimate Challenge**

By Andrew Warshaw  
Special to the Herald Tribune

**PARIS** — Tomislav Ivic thought time had caught up with him after 13 different jobs in a successful coaching career. Then came the phone call he had longed for: Was he available to coach a team going to the World Cup soccer finals in France?

"I was at home in Croatia working as vice-president of Hadji Split when a call came in from the president of the Iranian soccer federation. I didn't hesitate. This isn't about money; my contract is only for four months. It's the ultimate challenge, the gold medal."

Iran went for Ivic as soon as it qualified for the finals. He replaced Valdeir Vieira, a Brazilian, on Jan. 17. Ivic has coached the national teams of Croatia and the United Arab Emirates as well as a string of top European clubs including Ajax, Amsterdam, Anderlecht of Brussels, Atletico Madrid, Benfica of Lisbon and Porto. He has won seven national soccer championships in four different countries.

Why was he at so many clubs? "Because I can't sit still," Ivic said. "It's a fantastic feeling when you apply your knowledge to a variety of different cultures and it works every time. Having said that, this is the hardest challenge. It's different from anything I have done before."

"I said, when I became vice-president of Hadji Split a couple of years ago that I was through with coaching. I'd been everywhere there was to go. But soccer is like a drug to me; it's in my blood. When the offer to manage Iran came along, I realized what I was doing was not enough."

"Every coach dreams of taking a team to the World Cup finals. The fact that Iran are inexperienced and in a very tough group only makes the challenge more exciting."

Ivic, speaks six languages. He talks with the Iranian players in English. He

**One Defeat and Tehran Turns Hostile**

The Associated Press

**TEHRAN** — The Iranian press rounded on Tomislav Ivic, the national coach, Tuesday after Iran lost, 2-0, to Hungary on Monday in Tehran.

Papers criticized Ivic for his "bad tactics," which they said were to blame for the loss seven weeks before the World Cup in France.

"Unfortunately Mr. Ivic, you have failed this new test," said the government daily Akhbar.

The Akhbar called on Iranian federation officials to "pooder closely

the reasons behind this failure."

Iran was booed off by Atilla Koros and Bela Iles gave the Hungarians victory in a four-nation tournament at the Azadi stadium.

During the game fans chanted for Brazilian Valdeir (Badu) Vieira, who had taken the team through to the World Cup finals at the expense of Australia.

The other World Cup team playing in this warmup tournament also lost Monday. Macedonia beat Jamaica, 2-1. Iran will play Jamaica on Wednesday.

says has seen enough to believe that by the time the World Cup starts on June 10, he can make the team competitive.

"Our biggest enemy is time," he said. "I haven't enough of it to show the boys everything I know. We need more organization in defense and better preparation tactically and physically. But I tell you this: Every one of our opponents will know they have been in a soccer match."

That, of course, includes the United States. Ever since the draw was made, the hype surrounding the match between the United States and Iran in Lyon on June 21 has been relentless.

"I've had hundreds of journalists asking me the same questions. I give them all the same answer: This game is no more or less important than the other two, against Germany and Yugoslavia. We never talk about the politics. It's the media who have stirred things up. The only thing we talk about is the game and the relative strengths and weakness of the Americans."

"I remember a similar situation at the Asian Cup in 1997 when Iran was playing Iraq, potentially a far more explosive encounter. The game was perfect,

played in exactly the right spirit. I see no reason why our game against the States will not be equally correct."

At 63, Ivic, knows his first World Cup will also probably be his only one.

"I know how to adapt in certain situations and I know exactly how I am going to play against each of our opponents in France. I certainly have one or two little secrets which I am not prepared to reveal now."

Ivic was born in Yugoslavia but is now a Croat. Yugoslavia will be Iran's first World Cup opponent.

"They have players who can turn a game in a second," he said, "but I also know their weak points. Football can sometimes produce miracles. Fourteen times out of 15, Iran would lose to Yugoslavia. Who's to say this won't be the one meeting that favors us? Every-one says we have no chance. I hope the Yugoslavs feel the same way."

Ivic cannot resist returning to the match against the United States.

"Listen," he said. "When we play America, it will be a great opportunity to show the world that soccer is the best ambassador for peace."

**Ones to Watch: NHL Playoff Goalies**

The Associated Press

A hot goalie can take a team a long way in the playoffs, according to conventional hockey wisdom. But how important is playoff experience?

Some of the starting goalies in this year's playoffs don't have that much, while others — like Philadelphia's Sean Burke — have been absent for a long time from the National Hockey League's postseason tournament.

"It's the playoffs and I haven't played there in a while," Burke said. "I'm happy I'm just getting a chance to start." Burke, making his third playoff appearance in 10 years, was selected to start over veteran Ron Hextall against Buffalo in the opening of the Flyers' first-round Eastern Conference series on Wednesday.

Burke has appeared in 19 playoff games, but none since 1990 when he played for New Jersey and lost both decisions. By comparison, Hextall has played in 92 playoff games, winning the Conn Smythe Trophy as the Most Valuable Player of the 1987 playoffs.

"We just felt Sean was a little better

— not a lot better — down the stretch," Flyers coach Roger Neilson said.

In other first-round games Wednesday, Ottawa travels to New Jersey while Boston plays at Washington in the East. In the West, Phoenix is at Detroit, San Jose at Dallas, and Edmonton at Colorado. On Thursday, Los Angeles plays at St. Louis in the West, and Montreal is at Pittsburgh in the East.

Hextall was hardly surprised by Neilson's decision to start Burke. Hextall was 0-6 since his last victory, on March 16, while Burke was 7-3 in his last 10. "I knew I had to earn it," Hextall said. "I guess I had to play better in the last month."

Burke's opposite number will be Dominik Hasek, generally recognized as the top goalie in hockey this season. Hasek, who led the NHL with 13 shutouts, will be making his seventh playoff appearance.

The Senators will most likely go with Damian Rhodes to start against New Jersey. He and teammate Ron Tugnutt have appeared in just 11 NHL playoff games between them, as opposed to 48

by Martin Brodeur, the New Jersey goalie. Brodeur won the Stanley Cup in 1995. Still, the Senators are not awed by the Devils, who finished first in the Eastern Conference, 24 points ahead.

"We feel we can beat any team that we're playing right now," said Rhodes, whose Senators split four games with the Devils during the season. "They're pretty stingy, and they have the experience. We just have to go in there and work hard."

The Boston-Washington series features goalies with little playoff experience. Byron Dafoe of the Bruins has played only three playoff games, and Olaf Kolzig, the Washington goalie, has played seven.

"We don't have a lot of playoff experience," said Boston coach Pat Burns. "We're a very young team. Washington, in my mind, is one of the best teams in the conference right now."

The Kings' Stephane Fiset and the Coyotes' Nikolai Khabibulin are two other goalies with relatively little playoff experience. Fiset has played in six games and Khabibulin 13.



## SPORTS

Jays Blow  
A 2-0 Lead  
Over YanksMyers Fails to Hold Lead  
For First Time in a Year

The Associated Press  
Randy Myers blew a save chance for the first time in almost a year as the New York Yankees defeated Toronto, 3-2, in 11 innings.

Myers, successful on 45 of 46 save opportunities last year and 37 in a row overall, took over in the ninth inning of Monday night's game with a 2-0 lead. But the Yankees quickly tied it, landing

## BASEBALL ROUNDUP

Myers with his first failed save attempt since last May 3.

"Last year is last year and doesn't help us this year," Myers said.

In the 11th, Chuck Knoblauch tripled with two outs, and Derek Jeter hit a routine grounder to second base. The ball glanced off Tony Fernandez's glove, however, for an error that scored the winning run.

"If Tony Fernandez got a thousand more of those balls, he probably wouldn't miss another," Jeter said. "He's one of the greatest infielders of all time, but everyone makes errors; everyone makes mistakes."

The Yankees won for the ninth time in 10 games and stopped the Blue Jays' three-game winning streak.

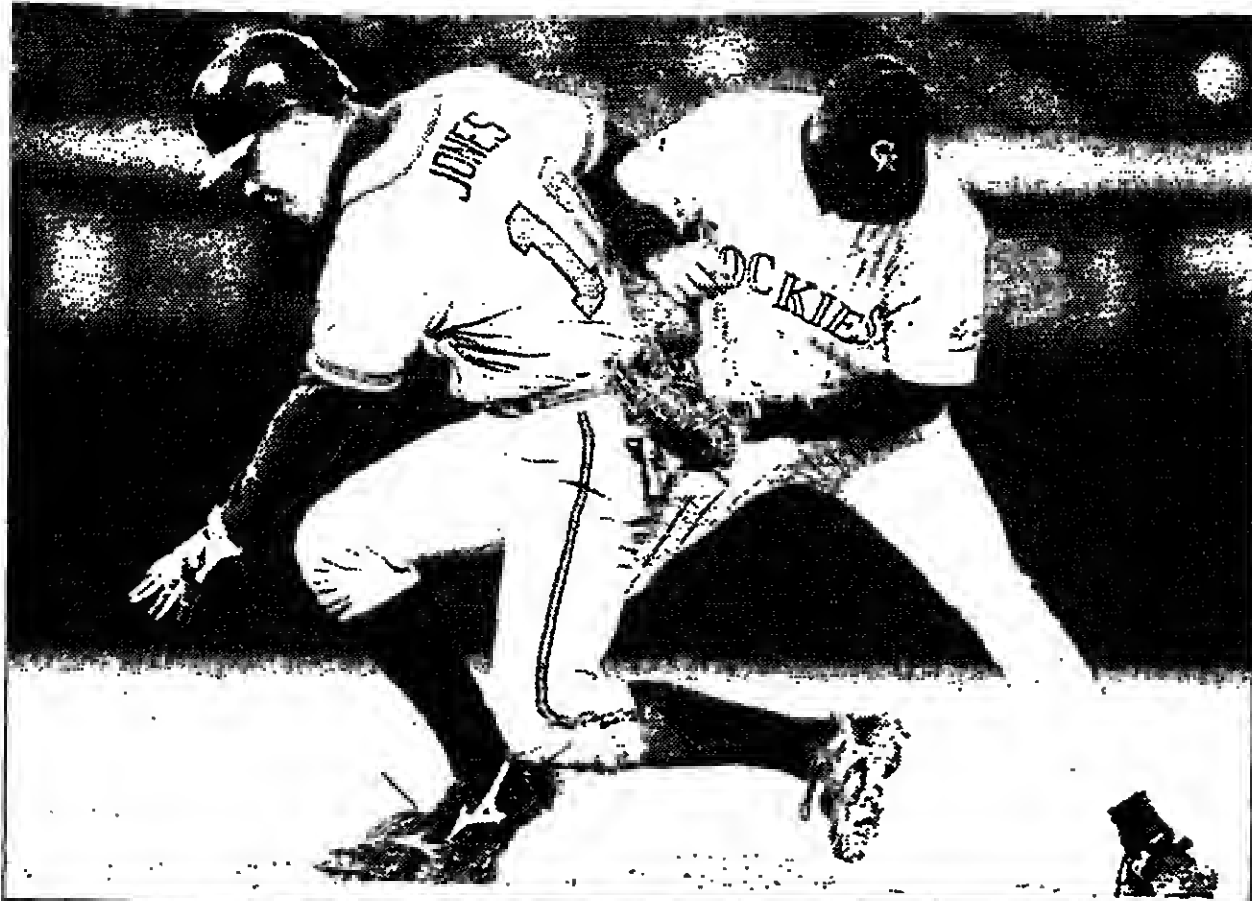
Shut out on four hits by Woody Williams and Dan Plesac for eight innings in Toronto, New York broke through in the ninth against Myers.

Chad Curtis opened with an infield single, and Jorge Posada followed with a two-scoring double. Scott Brosius singled, and Knoblauch's force-out drove in a run that tied it at 2-2.

Mariners 9, Royals 7 In Seattle, Ken Griffey hit his league-leading eighth home run and had a sacrifice fly in the sixth inning that broke a 7-7 tie as Seattle defeated Kansas City for its sixth straight victory.

Randy Johnson struggled again, failing to get through the fourth inning and leaving him with an earned-run average of 7.46. But the Mariners overcame an early 7-1 deficit, helped by four hits from Alex Rodriguez.

Rodriguez is 11-for-14 with eight ex-



Chipper Jones of the Braves arriving safely at second base ahead of a tag by Neifi Perez, the Rockies' shortstop.

tra-base hits in his last three games. Rich Amaral also hit a home run for Seattle.

Angels 4, Orioles 3 In Anaheim, on a play that reminded many of the 1996 playoffs between the Orioles and Yankees when a 12-year-old boy reached over the wall to grab the ball, a fan grabbed a drive by Baltimore's B.J. Surhoff in the first inning, and the call again went against Baltimore.

Surhoff circled the bases when first-base umpire Greg Kosc ruled a home run, but the call was reversed. Replays showed the ball would not have cleared the 18-foot fence.

In the 1996 series game, the Yankees were given a home run. The Orioles also lost an argument later when Kosc ruled that a fan had not interfered with a triple down the right-field line by Garret Anderson of Anaheim. After the game, Baltimore put center fielder Brady Anderson on the disabled list because of neck and shoulder trouble.

Athletics 3, Twins 2 In Oakland, Ben Grieve, one of baseball's best rookies, hit a two-run homer in the eighth inning to give the A's a victory over Minnesota.

Jason Giambi singled with one out, and Grieve connected with two out for

his first home run of the season.

Red Sox, 6, Indians 5 The Red Sox won their own version of the Boston Marathon when Mo Vaughn singled home the deciding run with two out in the 11th inning.

Jim Leyritz hit a tying homer in the ninth for Boston. The Red Sox went on to win their last at-bat for the sixth time this season, beating Cleveland to complete a 9-1 home stand.

In National League games:

Braves 7, Rockies 5 In Denver, the Colorado Rockies scored five runs off Atlanta ace Greg Maddux and chased closer Mark Wohlers from the game in the ninth.

And they still lost. Chipper Jones had a two-run double, and Maddux survived a rocky seventh inning as the Atlanta Braves beat the Rockies.

Maddux, who had yielded only two earned runs in his first 32 innings this season, for a 0.56 earned run average that was the lowest in the National League, was roughed up for five runs, four of them earned, in eight innings. His ERA rose to 1.35, but Maddux still got the win. He also had eight assists and

started two double plays.

After allowing only one run through six innings, Maddux gave up four in the seventh, including pinch-hitter John Vander Wal's three-run homer that cut Atlanta's lead to 7-5.

The Rockies loaded the bases in the ninth on three walks, two by Wohlers. But Kerry Liginbert — the Braves' third pitcher of the inning — retired Mike Lansing and Neifi Perez on pop-ups for his first save of the season.

The Rockies concluded their longest home stand of the season with a 3-10 record.

Diamondbacks 15, Marlins 4 Devo White drove in three runs against his former club as Arizona, an expansion team, won a series for the first time.

The host Diamondbacks beat Livan Hernandez in winning for the third time in four games against Florida.

Relief pitcher Greg Olson hit a two-run homer in Arizona's highest-scoring game of the season. The Diamondbacks have won four of their last five overall.

White, traded to the Diamondbacks by Florida in November, had a sacrifice fly in the third inning and keyed a five-run fourth with a two-run single.

A Snub by Pittsburgh  
Turned Out Just Fine

Unable to Buy Pirates, He Got the Padres

By Murray Chass  
New York Times Service

For a man who runs a major league baseball team, Larry Lucchino has an unusual memento in his home: a pair of bronzed, steel-tipped steelworker's shoes.

"I worked in the mills a couple of years when I was in college," Lucchino, a Pittsburgh native, said. "My parents gave me the shoes."

Rose and Dominic Lucchino obviously didn't want their son to forget his roots as he traveled the country running baseball teams, first the Baltimore Orioles and now the San Diego Padres. The Lucchinos had a chance to get their younger son home, but when he headed a group that tried to buy the Pittsburgh Pirates several years ago, city officials were attracted to another prospective buyer, who ultimately changed his mind.

Lucchino, meanwhile, shifted his sights, as well as sites, and joined John Moores in the purchase of the Padres, who today have the best record in the majors — 14 victories and 3 losses. The Pirates, last in the National League's Central Division at 7-11, remain in the early stages of rebuilding from the teams that won three consecutive division championships at the start of this decade.

"The big difference between San Diego and Pittsburgh is not temperature or sunshine," said Lucchino, 52, who is the Padres' president and chief executive officer. "It's John Moores. He has given us a capacity to do things out here that I don't think we would have had in Pittsburgh. It would have been a much harder pull in Pittsburgh."

At \$45 million, the Padres have a payroll that is three and a half times the Pirates' payroll.

"You need financial wherewithal, given the unbalanced player compensation system we have," Lucchino said. "With John's willingness, we were able to invest some serious dollars in rebuilding the team. In Pittsburgh we would've had to do it with marketing and an attendance resurgence."

There are some real similarities in the state of the franchises. Both of us have new ball parks coming down the

line, knock on wood, and we're both involved in rebuilding."

But the Padres are in position to make a positive statement in their campaign for a new stadium. The season is only three weeks old, but they already have a big lead in the National League West.

A 14-3 record tends to create that kind of separation from the rest of the division.

"People are very excited about this team," Lucchino said. "It's an appealing team, one that wins in dramatic ways."

The Padres, off to the best 17-game start in their history, have played five one-run games and won them all. They have played two extra-inning games and won them both. They have won five games in which they trailed after five innings.

They have hit home runs in a club-record 13 consecutive games. They pitched three shutouts in a five-game span, including two 1-0 decisions. They have won all seven games played at home. They have had an eight-game winning streak and took an 11-of-12 streak into their game against the Cubs in Chicago on Tuesday.

Their starting pitcher Tuesday night was Kevin Brown, whose acquisition by the Padres' general manager, Kevin Towers, from the downsizing Florida Marlins epitomizes what Lucchino meant when he talked about Moores' money.

Brown has a \$4.8 million salary this season and can be a free agent afterward, meaning that the Padres, in effect, are renting him for the year. But if they like him, the Padres most likely will offer Brown lots of money to stay. And what's not to like about a pitcher who has a 2-0 record and a 1.53 earned run average in four starts?

"We have bolstered the pitching staff with Brown and Stewart," Lucchino said, referring to Dave Stewart, the new take-no-prisoners pitching coach. "Overall we have a better pitching staff with strong, dynamic leadership."

Last season, the Padres had a dreadful pitching record. Only the Colorado Rockies' pitchers were worse, and they pitch on another planet at Coors Field. In this young season, the Padres are in the upper half of the pitching standing.

## SCOREBOARD

## BASEBALL

## MAJOR LEAGUE STANDINGS

## AMERICAN LEAGUE

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	12	6	.667	—
New York	10	5	.667	1 1/2
Tampa Bay	10	5	.625	1 1/2
Baltimore	11	7	.611	1
Toronto	9	10	.476	4 1/2

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	11	6	.647	—
Kansas City	9	11	.452	4
Minnesota	7	11	.389	4 1/2
Chicago	6	10	.375	4 1/2
Detroit	4	12	.250	6 1/2

## WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Seattle	11	5	.688	—
San Diego	10	7	.588	1 1/2
Anaheim	8	9	.471	3 1/2
Oakland	12	2	.857	0 1/2

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	11	6	.647	—
Atlanta	12	7	.632	1 1/2
Philadelphia	7	9	.438	3 1/2
Pittsburgh	5	12	.294	5 1/2
Florida	5	14	.263	7

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	12	5	.706	—
San Francisco	10	7	.588	1 1/2

## MINNESOTA

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Minnesota	010	000	.000	—
Oakland	010	000	.000	—
Rochester	010	000	.000	—
St. Paul	010	000	.000	—
Toronto	010	000	.000	—

## KANSAS CITY

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Kansas City	002	210	.009	—
Seattle	001	223	.004	12 1/2
San Diego	001	223	.004	12 1/2
San Francisco	001	223	.004	12 1/2
St. Louis	001	223	.004	12 1/2

## ATLANTA

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	001	182	.005	—
Baltimore	001	182	.005	—
Boston	001	182	.005	—
Chicago	001	182	.005	—
Cleveland	001	182	.005	—

## WEST DIVISION

Team
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## OBSERVER

## Join the Bamboozled

By Russell Baker

**NEW YORK** — A dental surgeon spent an hour in my jaw and set me off with a prescription. I presented it at a pharmacy. The pharmacist presented me with 28 pills. "That will be \$72," he said.

Bleeding too copiously to bargain, I flew home with my pharmaceutical treasure to be among loved ones. Who thinks of money at such times?

After two days I felt capable of demanding justice from the drug industry. "See here," I said to the pharmacist, "the \$72 charge for these mere, common antibiotic pills is obviously wrong, and calmly explained:

My pill insurance covers 80 percent of pill prices. If \$72 was 20 percent of the price, the base price of these particular pills would have had to be \$360.

I know that \$360 pills are not unheard of, but have always assumed that such bankroll hustlers are prescribed only for such desperate stuff as Myron's Syndrome or Zambesi River fever, not for aching jaw.

He was a nice pharmacist, and gently he told me a typical story of the American insurance industry:

My doctor's prescription had called for the brand-name version of a pill that also happened to be available in much cheaper generic form.

My insurance company had declined, via the pharmacist's computer, to cover the brand-name price. It would, however, pay its share of the generic pill's price. The \$72 was the difference between the price of the brand-name stuff and the generic variety.

In short, I had been chis-

eled. Bamboozled. A corporate finagler had played me for a sucker.

The pharmacist said it did oo good to be bitter. The Congress of the United States had four years ago placed the nation's health-care problems in the care of the insurance industry. Doctors could still propose, but it is the insurance industry that disposes.

I dwell on this incident not just because I'm parsimonious — all right, cheap if you're the kind who takes corners at high speed in your BMW while talking to brokers on your cell phone.

Besides that, it is another piece of accumulating evidence that the country is growing a new class of people — the cheated classes — who are being institutionally victimized at a moment when government no longer cares much to interfere with victimizers.

My own experience includes two recent refusals by Medicare to cover lab work a doctor thought necessary. You can appeal Medicare rulings, of course. Call a 1-800 number. Anybody here know where 1-800 is located? Anybody ever hear of a real human person living in 1-800?

O.K., why nag Medicare? It's going broke. But what about this corporation — a private publishing firm — that refuses to send along royalties that were due a year ago?

Why do pleading letters receive oo answer? Why does the phone fail to produce anyone who knows what I'm talking about? It is sad to think that I — a truly decent, kind person, in my estimation — should be consigned to the cheated class.

Yet, listen to this one — Ah, cheated again! My time is up.

New York Times Service

## Top of the World, Ma! Seinfeld Looks Back

By Lloyd Grove  
Washington Post Service

**STUDIO CITY, California** — As he faces the apocalypse, Jerry Seinfeld takes an inventory of his emotions.

It's early evening on the set of "Seinfeld," which began life nine years ago as a quirky little sitcom "about nothing" and is ending it a few weeks from now as a television colossus. Seinfeld has granted a reporter unlimited access to the filming of the show's second-to-last installment.

"Because tomorrow we wrap this episode," he says in his trademark Long Islandese, "and the day after that I'm writing the finale with Larry." Larry David, Seinfeld's creative alter ego, "Yep, I think I'm starting to feel something. I think it will really hit me when Larry and I sit down. When the cap comes off that pen. I think I'm gonna know: The jig is up."

Julia Louis-Dreyfus, who plays Elaine, predicts that the final curtain will hit the 43-year-old Seinfeld harder than anyone.

"This has been Jerry's life," she says in a makeup trailer. "He's always thinking about the next episode. This has been it for him. You know, he doesn't go home to a wife and kids. He goes home to a blank piece of paper."

Jason Alexander, who plays George, isn't so sure. "I couldn't tell you what motivates Jerry, what drives him," he says between scenes. "I think Jerry is very driven about this project because it's so much a part of him. His name has become a noun and a verb. It's so much a defining instrument of what he thinks is funny, what he thinks is important, what he wants to focus on. But if somebody said to me, 'Stand up and tell us what Jerry would do here, what Jerry would say here,' I couldn't do that. Because I don't know."

Michael Richards, better known as Kramer, accentuates the positive. "What you're witnessing here is the final signature to a great portrait — a great work of art," he declares as he devours his lunch, a hunk of barbecued chicken. "The artist doesn't cry. 'I'll never be able to do another painting after this.' It's a good painting. It's finished. That's it."

And David dismisses the idea that anyone, let alone Seinfeld, is about to get carried away.

"The show's managed to survive for nine years without anybody hugging," says the tall, high-strung comedy writer who quit producing the show two seasons ago but has

returned to write its swan song. "The characters that we're writing never express any emotion — except probably anger. So I don't know how worked up we're gonna get."

And yet the myriad arbiters of American pop culture are plenty worked up. In various media outlets, they have already greeted the impending demise of the Emmy-winning "Seinfeld" — when it is still television's top-rated comedy and the linchpin of NBC's mighty Thursday night lineup — as though it were a giant asteroid hurtling toward Earth.

Since the star announced in December that this season would be his last — cutting NBC off from a torrent of revenue — something like hysteria has been abroad in the land.

Judging from all the hype, it is clear that the prosaic inanities of the four dysfunctional Manhattanites who personify "Seinfeld" have captured the hearts and minds of a nation.

"The amazing thing," says Warren Littlefield, president of NBC Entertainment, "is that the show hasn't peaked. In its ninth year, it's actually still growing."

"Seinfeld" is regularly attracting an audience of 32 million, a third of the people watching television in the United States at 9 o'clock on Thursday night. The final show — for which NBC is reportedly charging advertisers \$2 million for a 30-second spot — is expected to draw an astronomical 75 million viewers. No wonder fevered NBC executives offered Seinfeld a rumored \$5 million an episode (five times his current salary) to stick around for a 10th season.

"No one will ever spend this much again," Seinfeld says as he surveys the organized pandemonium of a Puerto Rican Day parade that marches through the plot of the penultimate episode. "You're looking at television history here — when you have an

audience large enough to bring in advertising rates high enough to spend this kind of money" — about \$150,000 a day for production costs alone. "But network television viewership is dropping every year and it's all disintegrating."

"Now here we are in our ninth season, and creatively we're still doing well. To have that and to still be the No. 1 show, with our ratings still going up, it's really completely anomalous. Most shows are dried up creatively by seven or eight years. It's just hard to do these things. Believe me, I know."

On the third day of shooting for the "Puerto Rican Day" show, Seinfeld arises at 4 A.M. to make the 6 o'clock call at Universal. It is a grueling day, requiring steady focus on the part of cast and crew to bring off some very complicated comedy and elaborate camera work.

Seinfeld — who won't go home until after 10 P.M. — pushes himself to completion, and everybody else falls in behind. Seinfeld resists an assertion that the end will be a sad occasion. "I don't think so," he says.

Yes it will. "No. It's a good thing. It's a death really. But death can be a very positive event — the celebration of a good life," Seinfeld says. "It's greedy to hope to live forever. That's greed! That's egotism!" He eyes his interlocutor warily and admonishes: "You should check yourself out."

On the fourth day of the shoot, the filming resumes on Stage 9 at the CBS lot. Behind the cameras, Seinfeld, the director Andy Ackerman and a few writers sitting in canvas chairs hush into loud guffaws as Richards dances his comic two-step. With every new take, as Richards refines and escalates his performance, they laugh harder.

"This is the fun part," he admits. "When you're on the stage, you don't see any of the

pain. All that already happened, back in the writing offices. The stories that don't work and the scenes that aren't funny and the dialogue that isn't right — that's the pain."

Seinfeld is in a reflective mood. "I know the whole game," he says proudly. "I know the agent's game, the network game, the producing game. The celebrity game? 'Yep, the whole thing — the awards game, the negotiating game. Do you realize that I'm in every camp when there's a negotiation? I know what everybody's agenda is. I've had a seat at every table in the whole world of television."

Suddenly he looks weary. "There's a tremendous amount of padding beneath the surface that you don't see," he says. "At this level, the amounts of money are huge — huge! — for everyone involved, and that translates into strong feelings. Because people relate to money and they gauge themselves by money. So you're dealing with primal forces of human nature — and the bigger the money, the bigger the forces."

"You have some very tough, serious businessmen on the other side, the producers and the network people and parent-company General Electric people. I deal with all of them separately. That's the stuff nobody knows about. If I was at home, watching the show as a fan, I would think, 'Why would he want to stop doing that? That looks like fun! So easy. Just lean against the kitchen counter, say a joke and everyone laughs.'"

Seinfeld says that last December, when he was in the throes of deciding whether to continue, "it was suggested to me by some executives. 'What if we did a survey of the public and asked them their opinion?' And I said, 'No, that's my job.' If you're the pilot of the plane, you don't ask the passengers what you should do next. The audience wants to feel that someone's in control."

"The whole system," of television market research "is ridiculous," he continues, pointing out that "Seinfeld's" initial test audiences hated the show. "It's retarded. You don't ask people what they think. You tell them what to think. That's your job. That's what being a creative person is. And if they don't like it, fine. But you don't try and beg your bet."

Yet the business of prime-time network television, circa 1998, seems largely to be driven by bet-hedgers booked on market research.

"Yeah," Seinfeld agrees. "That's why it stinks."



Seinfeld and some of his staff on the set.

## PEOPLE

**THE** media and entertainment mogul Rupert Murdoch has separated from his wife, Anna, after 31 years of marriage, according to an announcement in one of Murdoch's newspapers. An item in the New York Post's Liz Smith column said that the separation was amicable and that they were attempting to work out their differences. It said Anna Murdoch would continue to remain on the board of her husband's News Corp., whose global interests range from television to telecommunications. Murdoch met his future wife when she was a trainee reporter on the Sydney Daily Mirror. They have three children.

Queen Elizabeth II celebrated her 72d birthday privately on Tuesday with members of her family at Windsor Castle. An absentee was her husband the Duke of Edinburgh, who is in Australia on official business.

Paula Jones plans to step out in full evening dress at the White House Correspondents Association annual dinner Saturday night at the Washington Hilton. She'll be the guest of the conservative magazine Insight, according to a spokeswoman at the Rutherford Institute, which is underwriting Jones' continuing sexual harassment suit against President Bill Clinton. Clinton will sit on a dais at the black-tie banquet for 2,600. Jones will be somewhere toward the back of the ballroom. Laurence McCulligan, president of the association,

said, "I have tried to oversee a process where the priority seating goes to oews organizations that cover the White House on a daily basis. And certainly the table for Insight magazine will be further back, based on that priority." The last time they were in the same room was on Jan. 17, when Jones was present for Clinton's deposition in her case.

The nearly instant selling out of a Spice Girls concert left some fans in tears after they camped out overnight in hopes of getting tickets, and the New York State attorney general is investigating possible violations of the state's ticket-scalping law. The 13,000 tickets for the British pop group's first New York City appearance at Madison Square Garden on July 1 were snapped up in 12 minutes, and there have already been reports of out-of-state ticket brokers selling the \$35 and \$50 tickets for hundreds of dollars.

Sir Paul McCartney plans to issue a tribute album to his wife, Linda, including several songs that she wrote and recorded shortly before she died Friday of cancer at age 56.

Best wishes, songs and friends — the usual for a birthday party. And when the toasts are the jazz great Lionel Hampton, count on good vibes. Bill Cosby was emcee and Betty Carter and Tito Puente were among those on hand at a New York

party to sing "Happy Birthday" to Hampton, who smiled, turned 90 — and kept oo playing. "I feel like I'm 25," Hampton said. "I feel like I want to play until I'm 125."

Pincas Zukerman has been appointed to a four-year term as music director of the National Arts Center Orchestra of Canada. Zukerman, the internationally known violinist, violist and conductor, succeeds Trevor Pinnock. Zukerman, who made his debut with the Ottawa-based orchestra in 1976, will hold the title of music director-designate until June 30, 1999, and serve as music director through the 2001-2002 season.

Michael Bolton has hired lawyers and accountants to look into the finances of the charitable organization that bears his name. Connecticut state records show the Michael Bolton Foundation, a charity for women and children, raised nearly \$2.6 million in 1995, but less than 15 percent went to the needy. The foundation said in a statement that the singer "will take any corrective action that may be necessary."

Denzel Washington, who plays the father of a high school basketball player in Spike Lee's new movie, "He Got Game," said he's interested in directing. "Acting's like someone asking you for years to write the characters, but they write the book," he said in Esquire magazine.



Rupert and Anna Murdoch have decided to separate.



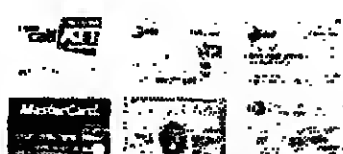
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France.....	0-800-99-0011
Germany.....	0130-0010
Greece.....	00-800-1211
Ireland.....	1-800-528-000
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Netherlands.....	0800-022-9111
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